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DOUTES ET RÉFLEXIONS SUR L'ÉTUDE DE LA LITTÉRATURE

I

M. Mornet et M. Spingarn ont commencé dans la ROMANIC REVIEW¹ une belle discussion. Il est à souhaiter qu'ils veuillent bien la continuer, car elle a pour nous autres professeurs, écrivains, erudits ou aspirants à ces titres un intérêt extrême. M. Mornet avec l'autorité que lui confèrent sa position de professeur en Sorbonne, ses écrits nombreux et estimés pour leur solidité, le rôle de chef d'école qu'on lui reconnaît tacitement, M. Spingarn avec sa vaste expérience de l'enseignement, de l'édition, et du métier littéraire, sa curiosité si large et si éclairée, ont beaucoup à dire sur l'étude de la littérature. Puissent-ils nous faire profiter de leur expérience; et ne pas s'attarder à disputer sur le livre de M. Magendie qui, d'après l'un comme d'après l'autre, ne semble pas en valoir la peine. M. Spingarn dit en effet à propos de cet ouvrage, cause initiale du débat:²

"Trop souvent, comme dans ce cas, (les thèses de doctorat françaises) sont soufflées et gonflées comme un ballon; on y cherche en vain cette haute clarté de la raison et cette concision du style que nous associons toujours essentiellement avec l'esprit français."

Or, dans sa défense de M. Magendie, M. Mornet répond:

"Je n'ai pas l'intention de défendre M. Magendie. Je pense . . . que le livre est beaucoup trop long, fort mal composé, et malgré sa longueur incomplet."

¹ Cf. Vols. XVII, 1926, pp. 71-73; and XVIII, 1927, pp. 103-113.

² *La Politesse mondaine et les théories de l'honnêteté en France au XVII^e siècle*, . . . par M. Magendie.

Abandonnons donc M. Magendie à son sort, qui n'est pas si triste, puisqu'il a reçu son titre de docteur avec mention très honorable.

II

Ne nous attardons point non plus à une discussion d'ordre national. Elle n'est point à sa place ici et Monsieur Spingarn a eu tort, je le crains, de s'engager dans cette voie et d'attaquer, à propos de M. Magendie, une école française d'historiens de la littérature qu'il semble considérer comme nationale. M. Mornet répond, à juste titre, qu'il existe en France non une mais plusieurs écoles d'historiens, avec des théories et des méthodes différentes, peut-être même opposées. Celle que M. Spingarn assaille est brillante et prospère, mais elle n'est point la seule et elle n'est point acceptée en France comme une école nationale. On l'a même souvent vu accuser en France de n'être point assez française et de s'être laissée entacher de germanisme intellectuel. Sans doute elle domine dans certaines des Universités les plus importantes de France, mais on pourrait montrer que le même courant s'est manifesté à travers toute l'Europe durant les années qui ont précédé la guerre. Elle s'est propagée dans l'univers entier et, s'il y a erreur ou maldonne, ou crise, le mal n'est point local mais général. Tout au plus est-il possible de dire que ces tendances ont trouvé en France une forme plus claire, y sont devenues plus conscientes d'elles-mêmes et y ont produit des œuvres plus caractéristiques.

III

Le véritable problème, tel qu'il est suggéré par M. Spingarn, est plus grave et plus vaste. Peu importe en somme M. Magendie et la politesse du XVII^e siècle. Peu importe de savoir si tous les Français se rallient aux doctrines de M. Mornet. Peu importe même de choisir entre une "Philosophie de la Littérature" et une "Histoire de la Littérature" comme M. Mornet voudrait nous y contraindre. Il prétend, en effet, que "l'Histoire littéraire historique" est vivement attaquée par une autre méthode "philosophique ou plus exactement métaphysique," qu'il ne définit point clairement mais qui, semble-t-il, en soulevant des problèmes trop vastes et trop complexes,

aboutit à des vues sommaires et hasardées. M. Mornet défend non seulement l'histoire littéraire historique, mais une conception stricte, modeste, limitée, de l'histoire. Contre M. Spingarn qui veut une histoire à vues larges, à orientations intellectuelles européennes ou mondiales, il est le champion d'une histoire scrupuleuse, qui se meut dans un domaine étroit mais y apporte des méthodes impeccables. Tous deux sont des historiens, et, bien qu'il puisse être intéressant de revenir plus tard sur leur conflit, il nous paraît que le véritable ennemi de "l'histoire littéraire historique" n'est point cette "Histoire littéraire philosophique," sa sœur cadette, mais une "Critique littéraire littéraire," ou une histoire littéraire artistique. Les méthodes qui s'opposent véritablement et s'affrontent aujourd'hui dans l'étude de la littérature sont, d'une part, les disciplines historiques à base et tendance scientifique, d'autre part, les techniques littéraires proprement dites à base et tendance artistique.

IV

Il est difficile d'analyser et de résumer d'une façon systématique les préceptes et les méthodes préconisés par l'École "scientifique," car ils ont été proclamés, attaqués, défendus par bien des esprits différents et d'une façon assez chaotique, d'une manière souvent injuste. Pourtant, il ne saurait y avoir de malentendu sur quelques-unes de leurs caractéristiques essentielles. Cette école vise à faire pénétrer l'esprit scientifique dans les méthodes littéraires. À un moment où les sciences se couvraient de gloire et attiraient à elle l'enthousiasme comme la confiance des foules, ces esprits soucieux de rajeunir l'étude des lettres, de l'adapter aux conditions de la civilisation moderne et inquiets, à juste titre, du discrédit où risquait de tomber la culture littéraire, si elle ne sortait de sa torpeur et ne se libérait de la vaine rhétorique dans laquelle elle semblait s'endormir; ces esprits, dis-je, zélés pour les lettres et conscients de la valeur des sciences, ont voulu réaliser une sorte de mariage entre ces deux disciplines, afin de faire participer les études littéraires à cette puissante exaltation et à cette grande popularité que les disciplines scientifiques confèrent à tout ce qu'elles touchent de nos jours. Pour rendre

la littérature plus scientifique ils l'ont considérée sous l'angle de l'histoire, et ils ont suivi en histoire les directives naguères indiquées par Taine, reprises par un large groupe d'historiens, qui ont poussé plus loin que Taine et modifié ses théories.

Les études littéraires ainsi entraînées dans la direction de l'histoire littéraire et de l'histoire des idées sont devenues une annexe du domaine historique. Pour mieux connaître les grandes œuvres d'art de la littérature on a recherché à définir le milieu social où elles se sont produites. D'où ces examens méticuleux des manuscrits, des éditions d'un ouvrage, ces travaux touillés et minutieux sur les écrivains sans génie, parfois sans talent, contemporains des grands hommes, ces recherches immenses, ces comparaisons infinies. L'érudit ne devait se déclarer satisfait que s'il avait connu la masse des productions intellectuelles d'une période et il ne voulait plus comme jadis en considérer la fleur seule. Il visait sans cesse à s'appuyer sur des chiffres comme l'homme de science. Pour cela, il faisait ces fameuses fiches, (analogue au "petit fait vrai" de la méthode de Taine) recourait aux statistiques et introduisait sans cesse dans l'étude littéraire, jusqu'alors uniquement préoccupée de la qualité, le souci de la quantité, du nombre. Que l'on veuille louer ou blâmer l'école de l'histoire littéraire scientifique il faut admettre que, sans abolir tout souci du qualitatif, elle a développé infiniment et mis au premier plan l'usage du chiffre. Elle a cultivé ce goût et cette disposition chez les étudiants en littérature comme on le cultivait et le développait déjà chez les étudiants en sciences. Partout où cela était possible elle a substitué aux appréciations de goût, aux évaluations qualitatives, des jugements de nombre, des formules avec des chiffres.

V

L'une des marottes des professeurs de littérature au XIX^e siècle, était d'arriver à des vérités éternelles; le désir de l'école d'histoire littéraire scientifique est d'arriver à la certitude absolue. Jadis M. Nisard ne se contentait point d'enseigner aux jeunes Français à jouir des belles choses que leur avaient léguées leurs ancêtres, il voulait que ces belles choses continssent

une éthique complète et parfaite et fussent absolues comme la morale à laquelle il les rattachait. De nos jours, M. Mornet sans s'arrêter longuement sur la qualité artistique des ouvrages qu'il étudie, cherche à en donner une connaissance aussi stricte, stable et durable que le 2 et 2 font 4 des mathématiciens. On voit et l'opposition et la similitude des tendances auxquelles ces deux écoles s'abandonnent. Toutes deux cherchent à atteindre un résultat qui est, en réalité, en dehors du domaine de la littérature proprement dite, mais M. Nisard faisait de la rhétorique moralisatrice, tandis que M. Mornet fait de la science. L'un visait à un absolu philosophique, l'autre à un absolu scientifique. Le Beau importait moins à M. Nisard que le Bien, le Beau importe moins à Monsieur Mornet que le Vrai, dirons-nous, en employant un jargon un peu désuet, mais précis. Il serait fort injuste de prétendre, comme font certains, que cette impuissance à percevoir la Beauté et à la rechercher est le résultat inévitable des habitudes d'esprit prises dans l'enseignement, une déformation professionnelle fatale chez les professeurs. En effet, c'est toute notre époque, à bien peu d'exceptions près, qui conçoit la Vérité comme quelque chose de concret, d'universel, d'éternel, et la Beauté comme quelque chose d'individuel, de vague, de changeant, de nébuleux. Depuis la Renaissance l'instinct du Vrai s'est développé dans les Sociétés humaines au point d'absorber toutes les forces de l'intelligence, tandis que l'instinct du Beau semble s'engourdir. On invente sans cesse des moyens nouveaux de prouver, de démontrer, d'établir. Ces méthodes finissent par être si précises qu'elles donnent l'impression de l'absolu. Par ailleurs, l'imprimerie fait penser que nos connaissances seront éternelles et nos découvertes définitives. Les hommes ne sauront plus seulement ce dont ils se souviennent personnellement comme au temps du bon Platon, mais ce dont les choses, le papier, l'encre, innombrables, impersonnels, se chargent de se souvenir pour eux. Sans songer que de nouvelles façons de douter et de nouvelles sortes d'oubli puissent être inventées par le fécond esprit humain ou la Divinité, ils se plongent tête baissée dans les joies de la certitude éternelle, infinie, absolue. C'est une des plus grandes passions et des plus brillantes des temps modernes. Il était

naturel que l'école de l'histoire littéraire scientifique voulût la capter, ou du moins l'exploiter, au bénéfice des études littéraires. Celles-ci ne promettaient plus seulement à l'étudiant le plaisir vague, passager, indécis de la beauté, mais une formation intellectuelle solide et d'un prix inestimable, d'un usage constant en notre temps. L'instinct du Beau se trouve chez quelques-uns, c'est un objet de luxe; mais disait-on, le sens du Vrai est chez tous, c'est un instrument de travail indispensable. Baser nos travaux littéraires sur ce dernier, c'est appeler à nous des masses d'hommes que nous ne pourrions utiliser autrement, que nous devrions abandonner ou contraindre à perdre leur temps. Il y avait donc à la fois quelque chose de moderne, de démocratique et de philanthropique dans cette nouvelle attitude.

VI

Pour parvenir à cette certitude, pour appliquer leurs méthodes avec tous les scrupules et toutes les précautions nécessaires, les écrivains de la nouvelle école ont étudié de préférence des points de détails, des champs nettement et humblement délimités. On a donc pu leur reprocher de se donner une peine infinie pour ne produire que des travaux d'un intérêt médiocre et arriver à des conclusions peu originales. C'était là bien mal comprendre leur esprit: ils ne s'efforcent en effet ni de faire joli, ni de faire amusant, ni même de faire neuf. Ils veulent faire solide, stable, éternel. Il ne s'agit pas tant de découvrir que de prouver. On recherche bien moins à inventer de nouvelles idées qu'à préciser, définir, confirmer ou infirmer les théories en cours et à déblayer le terrain encombré par des connaissances vagues et hypothétiques, pour leur substituer des certitudes raisonnées et scientifiques. Certains de ces travaux peuvent avoir une grande valeur littéraire et d'autres en être dépourvus; peu importe à l'école, si du moins, tous sont impeccables et voués à survivre aux goûts et aux plaisirs des hommes, grâce à l'inestimable parcelle de vérité absolue qu'ils contiennent.

VII

Cette théorie est alléchante. Elle requiert de ses croyants des travaux et un zèle infini, mais leur donne comme toutes les

fois simples et profondes la paix du cœur et le repos de l'esprit. N'est-il pas beau de concevoir un passé stable et matériel, à la fois entièrement mort et entièrement accessible, semblable à une mine de houille pleine de fossiles de plantes et d'animaux dont on peut prendre un relevé complet et tracer un plan définitif? J'envie ceux qui, sans plus se troubler, se meuvent ainsi dans les galeries des siècles écoulés, leur petite lampe de mineur à la main, en donnant des coups de pioches érudits et prenant des photographies scrupuleuses. Ils ne craignent ni les glissements du terrain, ni le soleil qui gâche tout en animant tout.

Pour moi, mes doutes commencent ici. Le passé ne me semble ni tout à fait mort ni tout à fait à portée. Ainsi, il nous échappe sans cesse. Chaque génération a son passé comme elle a son présent. Ce total que nous nommons une civilisation, un siècle, une époque n'existe entièrement qu'une fois, quand il est présent; il devient ensuite un passé ou plutôt une série de passés. Sans être entièrement anéanti il est en partie disparu, les hommes sont morts et pourrissent, les archives et les documents dispersés et dilapidés, les bâtiments ruinés, les institutions altérées ou abolies, les mots déformés ou oubliés. Mais une vie obscure se prolonge dans ce cadavre et lutte contre l'anéantissement. Les années en glissant n'apportent point une fatale diminution du passé, il y a des retours et des revanches. L'histoire du monde est faite de ces renaissances, de ces résurrections, où la mort effrayée paraît fuir devant une vie qu'elle avait crue terrassée, réduite en poussière et dissoute.

Les passés de l'homme semblent soumis à un double processus mystérieux et fatal. Alternativement, simultanément parfois, le temps et les passions des hommes les usent et les vivifient. Quelle image plus belle et plus claire que celle d'Herculaneum tuée pour renaitre en notre faveur, tandis que Pompéi ressuscitée par le XVIII^e siècle, engourdie et comme refroidie durant un siècle, se réveille grâce à de nouvelles méthodes de fouilles, et que Carthage, vivifiée un instant au XIX^e siècle par la curiosité des archéologues et littérateurs, et par les débuts de l'occupation française, est de nouveau morte pour nous et ne nous offre plus qu'un visage indifférent. Le cours des âges est comme une marée qui tour à tour couvre et découvre les

passés. Aucun homme, aucune génération n'a jamais possédé tous les documents sur un passé donné, n'a jamais pu légitimement le reconstruire. Sur quelque sujet que ce soit, un seul document, inconnu aujourd'hui et découvert demain, peut changer toute l'interprétation que l'on doit donner.

S'il en est ainsi matériellement, combien est-il plus vrai encore de prétendre que les désirs des hommes en changeant, changent tout ce paysage et tout ce décor qu'ils nomment leur passé. Chaque civilisation a ses instincts, ses besoins, ses folies, ses mystères honteux ou glorieux. Pour que d'autres civilisations puissent les comprendre, il faut une certaine communauté d'expérience, de sentiments, de désirs. Ainsi l'Europe du seizième siècle s'enivra de l'antiquité, et la découvrit. Ainsi le Romantisme s'éprit du Moyen Age et lui rendit sa gloire, sa fécondité, niée, et ignorée par le XVII^e siècle.

Nous n'avons jamais vu s'arrêter la course du temps, pas plus pour les passés que pour les présents, et aucune sagesse, aucune folie même, ne nous laisse espérer qu'elle s'arrête un jour. Comme Tantale nous boirons inlassablement à cet inépuisable passé qui ne nous assouvirra jamais. N'y a-t-il pas plus de sagesse à connaître cette vivante fluidité du passé qu'à l'ignorer? La vie de l'homme est brève. Tandis que nous nous épuisons à la recherche d'un petit fait vrai et d'une chimérique certitude, que nos neveux mépriseront, nos heures irréparables passent. Quand nous consacrons tant de nos forces et tant de nos minutes à retrouver la réalité, nous en restera-t-il assez pour la comprendre ensuite? Ne vaudrait-il pas mieux faire un effort de compréhension et de perception que de tendre ainsi désespérément vers une reconstitution matérielle? Nous ne rebâtirons jamais les palais de Palmyre, mais nous pouvons apprendre à jouir de leurs ruines avec assez d'intelligence pour les comprendre et en tirer une vie nouvelle. N'est-ce point là la véritable histoire plutôt que cette vaine science, faite de chiffres et de naïve ambition?

VIII

L'histoire de la littérature est avant tout l'histoire de l'homme et de ses goûts, de ses passions, de ses désirs. Aucun domaine ne se prête moins aux méthodes scientifiques, l'expéri-

mentation y est impossible, la mensuration aussi, et les déductions par syllogisme fallacieuses, presque tout y est opinion, qualité, impression ou sensation, sur lesquelles le chiffre n'a point de prise et qu'il représente grossièrement. Une histoire scientifique du monde matériel s'écrira peut-être un jour, mais l'homme, avec son intelligence immatérielle et ses passions fugitives, échappe jusqu'ici à tout procédé d'analyse scientifique, même dans le présent.

L'homme, les civilisations qu'il crée, sont des systèmes, et des mouvements. Il se caractérise par la respiration, la circulation du sang, le désir. Si on ne comprend pas cette harmonie dans son ensemble, ce rythme dans sa complexité, on n'a rien vu et l'on ne gardera rien. De même, ce qui constitue la vérité en histoire, c'est l'établissement de rapports analogues à ceux qui ont jadis existé entre les hommes eux-mêmes ou entre les hommes et les événements. Dire "Franklin est mort" est énoncer un aphorisme philosophique, car tout homme meurt, et il suffit d'un raisonnement abstrait et général pour permettre de faire cette affirmation. Mais dire "Franklin est mort en 1790," c'est faire de l'histoire, car c'est replacer Franklin dans un ensemble de relations, rétablir des rapports conformes à la réalité. Ce que nous nommons un fait historique est donc toujours quelque chose de complexe qui consiste à rapprocher et relier ensemble des séries de phénomènes. Ce faisant, l'historien doit choisir et recourir à une hypothèse. Selon le cadre dans lequel l'historien place les faits qu'il étudie, selon la série dans laquelle il les insère, il en change complètement le sens, le caractère et la portée. La place que l'historien donne aux hommes et aux événements fait d'eux des causes ou des effets. Le Moyen Age, la Renaissance, la Révolution, la Grande Guerre, paraissent horribles ou magnifiques d'après le génie de l'historien qui en fait un commencement ou une fin, un engloutissement ou une genèse. Chaque conclusion est conditionnée par l'hypothèse que vous faites avant de commencer à écrire ou à travailler. Il est vain de dire que vous ne formez aucune hypothèse, car vous ne sauriez vous engager dans une recherche sans être guidé par un certain plan, un certain parti pris, une certaine attente, ou la décision de vous

en tenir à une certaine époque, ce qui déjà est un jugement et une hypothèse. L'hypothèse est partout dans l'histoire de l'homme, et nous ne saurions nous en plaindre, car elle est le meilleur pont entre nous et les passés. Sans elle la masse obscure et informe de ce qui a été ne présenterait à notre intelligence aucune prise et ne susciterait dans notre volonté aucun désir, aucun élan. Elle nous rapproche d'abord par un geste hardi de ce domaine mystérieux que nous voulons étreindre. Elle ne suffit certes point, mais elle est nécessaire.

Au reste, on a besoin d'elle en science comme en littérature et nul ne devrait rougir de s'en servir. Les sciences les plus hautes travaillent toujours sur des hypothèses qu'elles cherchent à utiliser jusqu'à les user. Elles en connaissent et la valeur, et la fécondité et le caractère transitoire. L'une des plus grandes faiblesses de l'histoire littéraire scientifique me semble être d'ignorer l'usage de l'hypothèse et de chercher à s'en passer. Elle prétend partir du certain et arriver au certain, ajouter sans cesse un peu de certitude à d'autres certitudes, sans jamais rien risquer. Au contraire ce risque accepté et nettement défini est une des plus sûres garanties d'honnêteté chez le savant comme chez l'artiste. N'est-ce point là ce que M. Spingarn pressent et que M. Mornet ignore, quand le premier demande que l'historien de la littérature étudie des ensembles et sache relier les phénomènes par des explications un peu générales, tandis que l'autre veut s'en tenir à "la patiente, modeste et terrestre vérité d'une nation," sans percevoir qu'une vérité aussi étroite n'a plus aucun caractère de vérité. C'est un champignon monstrueux poussé sur le passé. Ces petits faits, grossis démesurément par le labeur de l'érudit, et libérés du milieu vivant et réel qui les a produits, qui les expliquait, qui leur donnait un sens, sont de gratuites absurdités, à la fois mortes et mensongères, comme le sont les fiches innombrables isolées de leur contexte. Pour avoir voulu échapper à la discipline salutaire de l'hypothèse, qui leur paraissait trop dangereuse, ces historiens se sont condamnés à la stérilité et à ne tirer de la mort que la mort. Par leur mépris de la forme, par leur défiance pour les idées, par leur éloignement pour les hypothèses, par cette sorte d'ascétisme scientifique, estimable peut-être,

mais stérile, ils aboutissent à créer des œuvres sans réalité comme sans efficacité. Ainsi que le dit à juste titre M. Spingarn, la perspective intellectuelle y est absente, et la certitude à laquelle ils sont arrivés ne se concilie ni l'intelligence, ni la sensibilité, ni le sens esthétique du lecteur. Elle reste inefficace, prisonnière, d'une perfection temporaire et chimérique en attendant que d'autres documents et d'autres modes de pensée viennent l'infirmer.

IX

Il serait absurde, au reste, de ne point rendre justice à certains maîtres tout à fait éminents de cette école et à l'école entière pour les services qu'ils ont rendus en jetant les étudiants sur les documents et en les obligeant à toucher, à paiper, à labourer le passé. On peut douter de leur prudence, quand ils ont voulu transposer dans les études littéraires les procédés des sciences et arriver à une certitude du même genre que celle des mathématiques, là où il n'y avait aucun des éléments nécessaires pour la créer d'une façon légitime. Mais, quand ils ont arraché l'étudiant français à la vaine éloquence qui fleurissait au XIX^e siècle et qu'ils lui ont enseigné à prendre un contact personnel avec les écrivains du passé, ils ont fait une œuvre féconde autant que nécessaire. Jamais l'érudition n'a été plus indispensable que de nos jours à l'écrivain sérieux qui veut savoir de quoi il parle. L'histoire à vol d'oiseau et de lieu commun est morte, souhaitons-le. Toute étude d'histoire littéraire comporte fatidiquement de nos jours un travail en profondeur et en intensité. La société et la civilisation ont changé si vite depuis un siècle que, pour pouvoir parler sans absurdité d'une période passée, il faut nous être frottés à ce qu'elle nous a laissé, il faut avoir ardemment et violemment recherché les traces de son passage, les témoignages de son goût, de ses idées, de ses passions, de sa foi. Pour que nos mots modernes appliqués à des réalités disparues, à des idées abolies, aient un sens, il faut chez l'écrivain une adaptation sérieuse à la civilisation dont il parle, et une sorte d'hallucination, qui ne saurait s'obtenir sans un travail, rapide chez quelques-uns, mais d'ordinaire lent et ardu. Jamais les passés n'ont été plus loin de nous. Ils se cachent derrière tant de révolutions, tant de

découvertes scientifiques et la masse informe des ruines, des fouilles, des restaurations au milieu desquelles nous vivons. Tout écrivain qui de nos jours parle du passé, sans avoir fourni cet effort, est aussi écoeurant pour nous que les peintres de bataille du siècle dernier nous paraissent depuis la Grande Guerre.

Sans doute cet élan que l'érudition imprime à l'imagination et à la sympathie de l'historien n'a rien de proprement scientifique, ni d'éternel, mais il permet d'écrire des pages où le passé revive en sa réalité la plus présente. Alors l'hypothèse dont usa l'historien fleurit et trouve sa justification ou sa condamnation. Si elle cadre avec la substance que l'érudition a fournie à l'écrivain, si leur union forme un système harmonieux, un corps humain, vivant et organique, capable de s'imposer au lecteur, capable de l'entraîner vers cette époque du passé qu'elle illumine, et à qui elle confère une renaissance, si elle participe ainsi à la fois étroitement du présent auquel elle appartient et auquel elle s'adresse et du passé qu'elle représente, appelle à elle et ranime, si elle fait circuler la vie et les idées entre ces deux mondes, elle a accompli son œuvre; elle est glorifiée. Il ne lui reste plus qu'à s'affaiblir doucement avec les hommes qui l'ont formée, et aimée, laissant la place à d'autres vivants, avides d'épuiser leur vie et de connaître leur passé, qui la rechercheront et la chériront peut-être à leur tour, non plus parce qu'elle est proche et chaude, mais parce qu'elle est lointaine, mystérieuse et attiédie par la mort.

X

Quoi que l'on pense de l'histoire, n'y aurait-il pas toujours abus de cultiver le sens et l'instinct historique dans l'éducation littéraire, plutôt que de la consacrer à cultiver le sens et l'instinct littéraire? L'homme est un être complexe dont la diversité fait la richesse et la dignité. Pourquoi sacrifier une de ses tendances à une autre, une de ses facultés à une autre. Étudions et critiquons l'histoire dans les domaines où cette discipline s'applique le mieux, par exemple pour l'étude des institutions, pour la biographie, la bibliographie, etc. Mais consacrons l'éducation littéraire à développer l'instinct littéraire.

Cela n'est point ais^e sans doute. Les préoccupations scientifiques sont universelles et bien définies; les préoccupations littéraires et artistiques sont individuelles et variables. Elles gardent quelque chose d'hypothétique, de changeant, elles ne peuvent être diffusées au hasard et uniformément dans de grandes masses sans se gâter et se dégrader. Elles exigent un maniement très délicat. Une Université d'État peut assez facilement construire une doctrine scientifique qui fasse un bloc et l'enseigner d'une façon cohérente et satisfaisante; elle peut même avoir plus d'aisance à accomplir cette tâche que les Universités privées à qui manquent cette diversité de ressources, et cette autorité sociale dont elle est si bien pourvue. Mais elle ne saurait arriver au même résultat en art et en littérature, car le monstre qu'elle produirait serait trop grotesque. En ce domaine il faut de la spontanéité, de la liberté, de la variété, de la souplesse. Il est presque impossible pour une Université d'État de donner un enseignement poussé et raffiné de la littérature et de suivre l'instinct littéraire d'une époque en ses évolutions rapides, en ses bonds, en ses exigences sans cesse renouvelées. Un enseignement d'État (et même d'église) se rabattra donc vers une discipline plus stable: théologie au moyen âge, histoire et sciences de nos jours. Seuls des centres d'enseignement privés, indépendants et point trop vastes, resteraient assez souples, libres et affranchis du poids de trop lourdes responsabilités pour enseigner la littérature d'une façon vraiment féconde.

A l'heure actuelle, l'obsession des méthodes scientifiques, l'unification et la centralisation excessive de l'enseignement dans le monde entier, et particulièrement en Europe, risquent de rendre impossible tout enseignement de la littérature. Il serait donc oiseux d'écrire ces lignes, si l'on ne sentait chez les étudiants et chez un grand nombre d'esprits, le désir et l'attente d'une renaissance littéraire. Les critiques parfois injustes, souvent aigres, auxquelles ont été en butte M. Mornet et ses disciples, suffiraient à l'attester, mais l'avidité du public, dès qu'on lui présente une œuvre d'art, dès qu'on met à sa portée une méthode artistique, est un symptôme encore plus clair. La littérature a cessé d'apparaître à beaucoup comme

la discipline universelle et souveraine qu'elle semblait être au XVIII^e siècle, mais elle demeure comme l'un des plus précieux enrichissements de l'esprit humain, un luxe inestimable. Elle tient l'homme par son orgueil et sa volupté. Ce sont là deux puissantes attaches.

XI

Des études littéraires dignes de ce nom devraient chercher avant tout le "Beau" de quelque façon qu'on le définisse, ou plutôt de la façon dont le définissent les artistes créateurs contemporains, et non se vouer à la poursuite du scientifiquement vrai, de l'authentique ou du réussi socialement. Les facultés à développer dans l'étudiant et dans le professeur de littérature seraient donc les facultés esthétiques, psychologiques et techniques. L'art d'exprimer des faits et des idées au moyen de mots n'est point si aisément qu'il puisse être méprisé et confiné à l'enseignement primaire et secondaire. La logique du langage (vocabulaire et grammaire, leurs ressources et leurs limites), l'esthétique du langage (sonorité, sons, rythmes, associations d'idées, de sentiments, de vocables), l'esthétique du style et des genres (leurs caractères, leurs ressources, leur évolution), l'esthétique des idées et des sentiments (conceptions, perceptions et expressions diverses de la beauté et du plaisir littéraire dans les diverses littératures, mais surtout dans celle de notre civilisation et de notre temps, etc.) ne devraient-elles pas être enseignées aux étudiants ès lettres des Facultés?

Il faudrait enfin cultiver avec soin les facultés de synthèse. Les œuvres d'art, livres en prose, romans, essais, poèmes, pièces de théâtre sont avant tout des essais d'architecture, des établissements de rapports. Au lieu de les dépecer par une analyse qui correspond à l'anatomie ou à la vivisection en chirurgie, il serait délicat et indispensable d'enseigner aux étudiants à les concevoir comme des touts et à en jouir ainsi. L'histoire, mais non point une histoire à prétentions scientifiques et à rêves de certitude, pourrait être utilisée pour cet usage, car elle apprend à voir des ensembles, elle développe le sens de la vie et elle habite aux hypothèses précises. Bien plus, elle prête aux œuvres d'art une actualité nouvelle. Les

œuvres littéraires se rouillent et deviennent ternes après un certain temps d'usage. Il faut les vivifier. Pour cela, les reprendre d'un point de vue original (comme on a vu récemment pour Stendhal, et Gobineau par exemple), c'est-à-dire, les grouper selon un ordre imprévu et les relier à des hommes, à des idées, à des sentiments nouveaux. Il faut les illuminer sans cesse d'hypothèses variées qui les éclairent vivement et leur prêtent une vie jeune à mesure que leur sève s'épuise. Ces hypothèses ne sauraient devenir des certitudes scientifiques, mais elles deviendront des réalités dans la mesure où elles permettront à de nouvelles générations de percevoir des œuvres anciennes, de s'attacher à elles, de les discuter, de leur trouver des rapports de similitude ou d'opposition avec elles. Une histoire littéraire ainsi conçue hypothétique, humble, périssable, souple et artistique, serait l'un des meilleurs instruments pour développer le goût littéraire. Au lieu d'abandonner cet instinct à ses tâtonnements, on l'aiderait à se clarifier, à s'exalter, et l'on dissiperait peut-être bien des malentendus qui pèsent sur la littérature française contemporaine, isolant le lecteur de l'écrivain, le littérateur qui écrit de celui qui pense, et le professeur du critique.

XII

Voilà, dira-t-on, de beaux projets et des propositions bien chimériques. Combien d'étudiants pourraient profiter d'un tel enseignement, combien de maîtres le donner? Sans doute, une telle formation ne peut être donnée que par des maîtres doués à des étudiants doués. Mais il y en a un bon nombre de par le monde. Et n'est-il pas clair que nous instruisons en ce moment, sur toute la terre, des masses humaines qui ne sont point faites pour être instruites et n'y trouvent aucun bénéfice? Elles ne tirent de tant de torpeur que le profit de se dire: je vaux bien autrui. Mais elles contractent en même temps les pires habitudes intellectuelles: celles de l'illusion, du vague, de l'à peu près, et de la vanité pompeuse. Nous créons un public analogue à celui que formaient les rhéteurs du bas empire romain.

Comme alors, ils sacrifiaient tout à l'obsession de la rhétorique, nous nous laissons maintenant absorber par le souci de

la certitude scientifique. Libérons-nous et enseignons à nos étudiants à faire avec hardiesse, intelligence, courage et goût des choses incertaines, dangereuses et belles. Qu'ils reprennent le sens de la qualité, que l'on ne peut prouver, mais que l'on doit découvrir, reconnaître, apprécier et que l'on peut créer. Ils mourront, nous mourrons, et tout ce que nous faisons périsera un jour, mais qu'ils aient été, grâce à nous, réels, personnels, humains, et non des machines à compter.

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LA GRANS PROIERE NOSTRE DAME

THE significance of this religious production of the thirteenth century is evident when we realize that it is the longest and most complete extant representative of that rarely cultivated genre of Old French poetry—the ten syllable rhyming couplet.

Of the six manuscripts in which *La Grans Proiere Nostre Dame* has been handed down to us, photographic copies of five and a transcript of the sixth, made by Paul Meyer,¹ are in the possession of the writer of this article, who, for the sake of convenience, has designated them in the following manner:

- A, Bibliothèque de Troyes, 1905, folios 187 to 194.
- B, Bibliothèque de Lyon, 584, folios 16 and 17.
- C, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 15212, folios 127 to 131.
- D, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 20039, folio 124 au verso.
- E, Bibliothèque de Chartres, 620 (ancien 261), folios 122 to 124.
- F, British Museum, London, Royal A IX, folios 115 to 120.

To *A* belongs the honor of priority of discovery. It is briefly mentioned and its first three verses are quoted in the *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques des Départements*,² where we learn that it is the fourth piece in MS 1905 Bibliothèque de Troyes. Almost forty years later it is mentioned again by Paul Meyer.³ It begins near the middle of folio 187b with a large rubric, and ends a little below the middle of folio 194b, and contains 250 verses. Other rubrics, less elaborate than the first, are found in verses 61, 139 and 207. The initial letter of each verse is separated from the rest of the word by a narrow space (which is characteristic also of *C* and *E*). The manuscript is in good condition and quite legible. The poem is preceded by *Les XV Joies Nostre Dame Sainte Marie*, which is in the handwriting of the same copyist. Between these two poems appear the words: *Ci commence la grans proiere nostre*

¹ *Bull. de la Soc. des Anc. Textes fr.*, XXI, 1895, pp. 74-76.

² II, Paris, Impr. Impériale, 1855, pp. 787-788.

³ *Bull. de la Soc. des Anc. Textes fr.*, XX, 1894, pp. 36, 54-55.

dame. This is the only manuscript that gives the title of the poem. On this account, and also because of its priority of discovery, and because it may possibly be the oldest of the six extant manuscripts, it is selected as the most appropriate text upon which to base this study. It is followed in the manuscript by a poem, in the same handwriting, which begins:

“Ave dame de totes creature,
Ave dame de trestote nature.”

The discovery of *B* was first made known by W. Foerster.⁴ It begins with a rubric near the bottom of folio 16a, and originally contained 184 verses, but two of these (14 and 156) have been entirely expunged. Verses 1–26 follow more or less closely the corresponding verses in *A*, and verses 27–102 resemble verses 41–130 *A*, and 103–184 are similar to 137–215 *A*. *B* is immediately preceded in the manuscript by an Old French octosyllabic poem on the Fifteen Signs of the Last Judgement which ends with “Amen a Dieu Onnipotent.” Our poem ends with “Amen,” which is at the end of the column, the next column beginning, with a rubric, an Italian poem, the first verse of which reads: “Santo spirito dolce glorioso.” Concerning the manuscript Foerster says (l.c., p. 44):

“Il codice che lo conservò è un membranaceo ora segnato del num. 584: appartiene al sec. XIIIe dalla forma rotonda dei caratteri si mostra di menante italiano. . . .”

The poem is the fifth in the manuscript, and Foerster adds (l.c., p. 46): “. . . altro poema ant. fr. in onore della Virgine di 184 versi decasillabi rimati *aa bb cc.*” Regarding Foerster’s article quoted from above, P. M. (Paul Meyer?) says:⁵

“Le cinquième [ouvrage que le ms. 584 renferme (inc.: Belle dame, tres pie enpereris)] est une prière à la Vierge en décasyllabiques à rimes plates, que je ne crois pas avoir rencontrée ailleurs. J’en ai pris copie, et elle trouvera peut-être sa place dans quelque publication future.”

P. M. evidently neglected to carry out this plan, as apparently the poem has never been published in full.

⁴ *Giornale di Filologia Romanza*, II, 1879, pp. 44–46.

⁵ *Romania*, IX, 1880, p. 162.

z de toutes mes mesprissons
o e fai p don et aquitanse
p ta pitie p ta puissance
s i q marme soit an la glout
d e padis p ton aventure
a men an di douce marie
a cui ie rent marme et ma vie.

Et comence la grās priere nre dame

elle dame
tres pie epe
renz &c de au
fistes mere
& anfratuz
Emperis des
vins & des vins
venges des uierge & gloire des meeschmer
l oer ce dient totes les creatires
et dux forma au regnable signes.

Photog.
Paris

MANUSCRIPT A

Si com fai al començament
Quant d'ux fuit le firmament
A donc se vint leuons oiez
Ensemblance des fistomes
Et d'vont vies pecheor
Leues vost ues le ior
Dieux nefist cele creature
Qui a cel ior soit bien segure
Quant li sainte paor auont
Tutz pecheors que se vint
A donc s'entent les bessines
Qui agrant dolor sunt nos signes
Li has comf'aura estat en son front
Tutz resorderont tutz la mort
De nolte sue resera
Et de la die quâ il uoldra
Pouer resoudra amgement
De facies bien certaine ment
Qui il uendra incement
Si vus idont il paruenir
Que nos soions ason plaisir
Dres entutz communement

Amen Adieu Ours poete

Belle dame tres pie emercere
qui de dieus fistes mere genere
Empressis de rois et roines
Engis de amys glore de meschans
Asnes et de toutz autres creature
que dieus asust en humaines figures
Par latetour que l'au nos aperte
Hul ne fist en voie larmis
Mort pour la Vie en joruis me
Esamuris plus felonie

longem
Nunquel
vergnis
Conf'ren
vergnis
plus q'il
Qui te te
Non fait
Si come
Conseille
Dieux en
Toutz u
Enton
Enter
Eul si fil
porce a
que tu
Qui asa
Et ento
Et res i
Diez tan
Dieux tan
Benedic
Qui ala
Est le re
Aunt ne
Qui ten
Et ac
Etelle
Qui se
Il fu et
Tu fus
Benedic
Et leu
Etelle
Qui de

MANUSCRIPT B

C was first mentioned by Paul Meyer,⁶ but neither he nor any other scholar has published any further information about it. It begins near the middle of folio 127a and ends a little below the middle of folio 131b. It contains 254 verses, with a rubric in verse 1, and enlarged capital letters at the beginning of verses 35, 61, 69, 87, 109, 133, 184 and 203. Preceding it, in the same handwriting, is a poem which ends: "Explicit li dit de Carité," and following it is a twelve syllable poem, also in the same hand, which begins:

"Sainte Marie virge digne de grant honnour
Glorieuse pucele plaine de grant doucour."⁷

The scribe evidently dropped two verses—one to rhyme with 177, and one to rhyme with 188—but in other respects the manuscript is in good condition.

D has been published in full by Paul Meyer,⁸ who calls attention to the following eight octosyllabic verses which he says he has not encountered anywhere else:

"Sente Marie, virge pure,
Raïgne, douce craiture,
Beneoite par tout tampoire,
De ton chier fil lou roi de gloire,
Seule, sans nule autre alliance,
Deu mere et file, sanz doutance,
Signguler am comparison,
Seule sanz per, sanz compegnon."

Meyer gives a description of the manuscript and is of the opinion that it was not written by a professional scribe, and that it is from Barrois. He calls attention to some of the copyist's peculiarities in spelling and says: ". . . fait dont les exemples

⁶ *Bull. de la Soc. des Anc. Textes fr.*, XX, 1894, pp. 36, 54, 55.

⁷ This is evidently another manuscript of the religious poem of forty-five verses found in Brit. Mus., addit. 15606, which begins:

"Ave Sainte Marie digne de grant amour
Gloriose pucele, fonteigne docour"—Cf. *Romania*, VI, 17.

This poem has forty-nine verses in our MS C.

⁸ *Bull. de la Soc. des Anc. Textes fr.*, XXI, 1895, pp. 74-76.

ne sont pas rares au XIII^e siècle." At the end of the poem are the two verses:

"Guerris m'excrit: Diex li otroit
Honor et bien ou que il soit! Amen."

As a comment on this Meyer says:

"Il est intéressant de constater que nous possérons un autre manuscrit de la main du même copiste. C'est le ms. L. V. 44 de la bibliothèque nationale de Turin qui renferme la *Chanson des Saisnes* et le poème de *Blanchandin*. À la fin de chacun de ces deux poèmes se lisent les deux vers précités. Les deux manuscrits ont, l'un comme l'autre, trente lignes à la page."

At the time that he announced the discovery of *C*,⁹ Paul Meyer published the first five and the last ten verses of *E*. More recently *E* has been published in full by M. Maurice Jusselin, Archiviste d'Eure-et-Loir.¹⁰ Under the title *La Prière Nostre-Dame* he treats the three poems bearing on this subject that are found in MS 620 of the Library of Chartres, namely, *La Prière de Théophile*, *Prière à la Vierge en vers équivoqués*, *Prière à la Vierge en vers décasyllabiques accouplis*, which occupy respectively the sixth, seventh and eighth positions in that manuscript. No interval separates *La Prière de Théophile* from our poem. A simple rubric, or unadorned capital initial letter, is found in verses 1, 23, 33, 43, 61, 68, 85, 97, 107, 125, 133, 147, 167, 183, 197, 210, 220 and 244. It is followed by a poem by *Li clerc de Vodoie*, which is in the same hand and begins with the same kind of initial letter. Our poem extends from about one third of the distance from the top of the folio 122b to near the bottom of folio 124d, ending with "Amen," and containing 253 verses. One peculiarity of this manuscript (which is not found in any of the others) is that sometimes the verse is written all in one line and sometimes it occupies two lines. When the verse is divided into two lines, the scheme is always 4-6, but in other respects the division seems to be a whim of the scribe, as there is apparently no reason for this plan and there is no particular system about it. Jusselin states that our part of the manu-

⁹ *Id.*, XX, 1894, pp. 36, 54.

¹⁰ *Mém. de la Soc. Arch., d'Eure-et-Loir*, XIV, 1905-1914, Chartres, 1914.

script belongs to the thirteenth century.¹¹ He mentions manuscripts *A*, *B* and *C*, but as he says nothing about *D* and *F*, he is probably not aware of their existence.

The discovery of *F* was reported in an unsigned article in Romania in 1896,¹² with the statement: "Ce ms. a été fait en Angleterre; tous les autres mss. qui renferment la même pièce sont français." Twelve years later J. Priebsch again mentions it.¹³

The poem begins with a rubric at the top of folio 115b, and ends at the bottom of folio 120b. "Explicit" is on the margin at the end of the last verse of the preceding poem, which is by the same scribe, and which is, according to Priebsch, Wace's *Assomption de Notre Dame*, and on the margin at the right of the first verse of our poem are the words: "Orō de scā Maria." At the end of the poem, on the margin is "Amen," and on the next line below the last verse are the words: "Oratio de scā Maria." The poem contains 263 verses, three of which (199, 214 and 223) have no verses with which to rhyme, which fact makes apparent that the manuscript from which *F* was taken must have had at least 266 verses. This is, then, the longest copy that we have of the poem. The initial letter has been entirely omitted from the first line of each couplet in verses 3-23, and from the second line of the couplet in verses 26-36, 48-84. In verses 97-263 each initial letter is more or less ornamented, apparently in alternating colors, although, of course, this can not be definitely determined from a photographic copy. The scribe has tied the verses of the couplets together in the manner shown by the following two couplets:

"O bele dame tres pie empereriz _____ z
De dampnedeu estes mere engenderiz _____ z

Empereriz des reis and des reines _____ s
Virgene des virgenes and glorie des meschines" _____ s

The verses are written on drawn lines, and two perpendicular lines are found at the beginning of each column and the initial

¹¹ L.C., pp. 405, 406.

¹² XXV, p. 478.

¹³ Herrig's *Archiv*, CXXI, 1908, p. 142.

letter of the verse is found in the square thus formed. Two perpendicular lines are also drawn on the margin at the end of the verse. The manuscript is attractive in appearance, and if the initial letters are colored as the present writer has reasons to believe, then the manuscript must represent a really beautiful piece of calligraphy.

La Grans Proiere Nostre Dame, as has been indicated already in this article, is written in ten syllable (4-6) rhyming couplets. With reference to this form of verse Paul Meyer says:¹⁴

"L'accouplement des vers décasyllabiques n'a jamais été fréquent au moyen âge. Les exemples, toujours assez rares, n'apparaissent pas, à ma connaissance, avant le XIII^e siècle. On peut citer une traduction des prophéties de Merlin faite en Angleterre.¹⁵ Les vers en sont si incorrects qu'on est parfois tenté de se demander si l'auteur a eu vraiment l'intention de les mesurer. Un peu plus régulier est le poème anglo-normand sur l'Ancien Testament dont la *Romania* (XVI, p. 182) a publié un morceau. Au XIII^e siècle quelques pièces, plus ou moins longues, ont été composées en cette forme, notamment une prière à la Vierge (Bele dame, tres pie eimpres),¹⁶ et deux pièces liégeoises."¹⁷

The *Prophéties de Merlin* are found in a manuscript of which "l'écriture est normande et paraît appartenir aux dernières années du règne de Henri III."¹⁸ This would fix the date at about 1270, as the reign of Henri III terminated in 1272. The Anglo-Norman poem on the Old Testament, mentioned above, belongs to the fourteenth century.¹⁹ The "deux pièces liégeoises" are *Bea Sire ki apres vo naissance* and *Dues Ihesu Crist ki por no savemen*²⁰ and are found in a manuscript of a Latin Psalter of the middle of the thirteenth century.²¹ It would seem probable from the foregoing evidence that these two poems

¹⁴ *Romania*, XXIII, 1894, p. 4.

¹⁵ *Bull. de la Soc. des Anc. Textes fr.*, 1882, p. 53; *Romania*, V, 1876, pp. 470-471.

¹⁶ This refers to manuscript B.

¹⁷ Herrig's *Archiv*, XXXVII, 1865, pp. 326-327; *Rev. des Soc. sav.*, 5e série, VI, 1873, p. 243.

¹⁸ Meyer, *Bull. de la Soc. des Anc. Textes fr.*, 1882, p. 43.

¹⁹ *Romania*, XVI, 1887, p. 189.

²⁰ *Romania*, XXIII, 1894, p. 4, note 3.

²¹ Herrig's *Archiv*, XXXVII, 1865, p. 321.

are the oldest extant in Old French in the form of the ten syllable rhyming couplet.

That this form of verse was more or less extensively used in Latin prior to the appearance of our poem is quite probable. Bishop C. Douais cites one poem of twenty-four verses and says:²² "Le manuscrit . . . est de la fin du XIIe siècle ou des premières années du XIIIe." The following are the beginning and the closing verses of the poem:

"Non est sermo, non est facundia,
Que condigne possit preconia
Extollere Marie Virginis,
Que tot mundat a labe criminis
Quo debito hoc beneficium
Cirographo solvit Theophilum
A tyranno quoque Basilium
Et ab igne Judei filium;"

"Hanc cum celi fracta sit janua
Exoremus prece continua
Ut clementer nobis aperiat
Atque secum regnare faciat.
Amen."

It is interesting, and perhaps significant, to note that the poems of this genre that have been discussed above are all of a religious nature, and with one exception (the Old Testament poem) are prayers.

The author of *La Grans Proiere Nostre Dame* is unknown.²³ The difficulty in determining the language of the author is manifest when we reflect that no two of the manuscripts that have descended to us are in the same dialect. *A* was no doubt written by a scribe from the region around Dijon, as is shown by its linguistic peculiarities, which are displayed in the dialects of Burgundy (especially Côte-d'Or, and Saône-et-Loire), of Franche-Comté, Haute-Saône, and a few traces of that of Haute-Marne.²⁴ Among these dialectic traits are the use of:

²² *Revue des Langues Romanes*, 4e série, VIII, pp. 114, 125, 126.

²³ Jusselin, *Mém. de la Soc. Archéol. d'Eure-et-Loir*, XIV, 1905-1915, p. 412.

²⁴ Schwan-Behrens, *Grammaire de l'ancien français*, Leipzig, 1913, Pt. III, pp. 47-61; Goerlich, *Der burgundische Dialekt im 13ten und 14ten Jahrhunderth*.

1. *an* plus consonant, instead of *en* plus consonant, as in *ansfantas* (12); *pandre* (89); *estandre* (90); *dolante* (112); *vangansse* (117); *penitansse* (118); *anclin* (218).²⁵ 2. "parasitic" *i*, in *poëstei* (44); *virginitei* (19, 21, 43); *tornai* (51); *alaitai* (52).²⁶ 3. *au* for *a*, in *pechauble* (72); *deaublez* (134); *merciauble* (242); *secourrauble* (241).²⁶ 4. *oi* for *ei*, in *soloil* (24); *moïsmes* (189); *roïnes* (3); *vermoille* (154); *proigne* (117).²⁷

The language of the author is revealed in *A* in two places:

verses 179–180, and 218. When *rande* rimes with *parvoigne* (179–180) one is reminded of *Yvain* 4058S, *deffenge: remaingne*; and of *renge* in *Aiol* 3406, 2316, and several other places in the same poem; of *range* in *Aiol* 1610; of *renge* Amiens 142 Anm.; Lille 47, 89; also of *La dime de Penitance: laisdenge: rende*, 21, 22.

All the above forms are in North East texts. In verse 218 *ti* appears with a preceding preposition. In regard to *mi* and *ti* in such cases Rydberg²⁸ says that *mi* is very old in the language. He gives a number of examples of the use of *mi* and *ti* as objects of prepositions in literary texts.²⁹ To these might be added other examples found in non-literary texts, as, for example, in documents (which have the distinct advantage of being dated and definitely located) such as those of Lille from 1262–1281;³⁰ of Pas-de-Calais from 1243–1292;³¹ of Ponthieu from 1259 (1260)–1315, in one of which documents, bearing the date of November 1262, both *mi* and *moi* are used.³² The great majority of both the literary and non-literary texts mentioned above come from the Picard territory or territory adjacent to it. When it is taken into consideration that both the traces of the language of the author as it reveals itself in *A*—that is, *rande: parvoigne*, and *ti* as the object of a preposition—are found in Picard texts, there is strong reason to believe that Picardy was the home of the author.

²⁵ Schwan-Behrens, *op. cit.*, Pt. III, p. 57, *defandons, presans*; p. 56, *randues*.

²⁶ *Ib.*, Pt. III, p. 51, *volentey*; p. 52, *doney*; p. 54, *teil*; p. 59, *finaige*. *Ib.*, Pt. III, p. 49, *henourable, estauble*; p. 53, *bannaul*; p. 54, *honorauble*.

²⁷ *Ib.*, Pt. III, p. 54, *soignor, moime*; p. 49, *roine, hoirs*.

²⁸ *Geschichte des französischen a*, II, 3, p. 579.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, 7, 575–577.

³⁰ Flamermont, *Album paléographique du Nord de la France*, pp. 71, 95.

³¹ *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XXXI, 1870, pp. 264, 265, 277.

³² *Ib.*, XXXVI, 1875, pp. 193 ff.

C ar il n'a que contredire
P ar les vers dix me qdumia
R sages bon sen dedumia
A u des bons die se ser deduire

E xplicit li die de Carre



belc dame tres pieue empereur
Q' d' du fustes meiez engaist
Empereur des rois z des romain
Vges des vierges z glore des vances
Oer w' vmont toutes les cianres
Dit a faire en rehables figures
C ar les cristours q' eue ne pote
R aenlis dame tes fiz le matin
G ort doma eue dame tu pote
T a saintees temps la felonie
S our toutes autres fu la mort
T ois fiz vige du chaste
A utres pater et plusors son
U portas dame le roy de rois
E ro s' cors ne se e' fait m
rois del ciel dela terre

Français 15-212

est cil laiure & bien finiez
ramour est ensoume
de tonz bns reis latrone
elle en cui cil li ombrage
il de celiu nous d' comba
qui aden fu enemis
touetur eust aongres
deables me descombrez
a enmor fest mil a ombrez
iele nore sante & pure
di me n'ebo si mespure
con sante pur espiugement
corz mair sor enmor purez
que soie si espiuez
ne te feriez purement
ne le vins auys demeure
tout goutteur & tot demeure
tout entor delanc lamen
amor tel vil de menes
je ne me purifie mai mener
si q ma fault & sois & enm
aede ouz p'st charz m'nes
parz teli fiz nememelies
Anen ier fere ramenies
et en enter qui vous delombie
tua mame fil ne ten membre
et uers mengree & de uoier
lame par qui fu rauoiez
Theophilus li desuoiez
toi feriez mon cuer auoiez
si me daingnes rauoiez
alant p'st auhaut uoier
est ueritez vie & uoie
et celas dame te souuegne
Am que latere ammenies

O ntre vouliez conuient hem
O ur amoueur temate conuient
S e de mame ne resouuent
N es que p'sse de uenir
Digne r'jor dieu pure & fine
La moduson que le defunt
C eyn de nou erer & defunt
O ue tu di p'ce finnement
C lui quine faut ne nement
V eur nous fait a bone fin amen
T us haute dame vng'e empereur
Dix p'restes ibus sam' espere
E mperer des rois & des roines
V ingez des ung'es & gloires des melemedes
L oet nos domenec toutz les empereurs
D eys a seros en templs figures
C ar la treur que lez nous ap'st
Q aenss dame des frantz les loys
E sp'ce mort dame tu portas vie
F a faulce passa sa felonie
D or toto auctor fu en uerite vele
D et tens fuis iug'e des enemis plus
A ure poecies plusors & triens rois
G et en jurez lez lez & des angrois
L eys de la re'e & des sangrois
D eon fons cors ne le fut pas desangre
E uoi p'st char & sunt tant p'cens
C ouliodes entz temore resans
V agnire entor ne viola
S e deito entor namenibz
V us m're p'mes & amas
T ouz fuis iug'e & vng'e jumentz
Digneze entor ne fust dampnes
Z uoline q' uerme p'soleil vache
O uoz entor & male sam' parvus

Chartres 620 P. Lemire suc. Paris

The date of the poem can not be definitely fixed. Foerster³³ and Meyer³⁴ as well as Jusselin³⁵ place it in the thirteenth century. There is not much doubt that *A* was written within the last third of the century, as official documents already cited above³⁶ with definite dates show that the dialects of Bourgogne, Franche-Comté and Haute-Marne were similar, at least in some respects, between 1270 and 1295 to that of *A*. How long the original was written before it was transferred to any of the extant manuscripts is still conjectural, but it would be perhaps not far from correct to say that the poet composed it near the middle of the thirteenth century.

LA GRANS PROIERE NOSTRE DAME

O belle dame, tres pie empereris,
Qui de Deu fustes [et] mere et anfantrix,
Empereris des rois et des roïnes,
Vierge(s) des vierge[s] et gloire des meschines,
5. Loër te doient totes les creatures
Que Dex forma au regnable[s] figures!
Car la tri[s]tor qu' Eve nos aporta,
Reänsis, Dame, tes frus la racheta.
Mort porta Eve, Dame, tu portas vie;
10. Ta sainteté passa sa felonie.
Sor toutes fui ta merite plus belle;
Tot tans fuz vierge, Deu anfantas, pucelle.
Autres porterent plusors terriens rois,
Tu portas, Dame le roi de totes lois.
15. De ton saint cors ne se fi[s]t pas estranges,
Li rois dou ciel de la terre et des anges
An toi pri[s]t char et sanc tant precious
Que toz li mons an fu(i) de mort rescouz.
Virginitei an toi ne viola,
20. Ne deitez par toi n'amenusa.
Virginitei promeïz et amas
Tot tans fuz vierge, et vierge parmanras.
Vi(e)rginitiez an toi ne fui dampnee,
Ne que veriere par soloil violee
25. Qui dedans lu[s]t et antre sans pertus,

³³ *Giornale di Filologia Romanza*, II, 1879, p. 44.

³⁴ *Bull. de la Soc. des Anc. Textes fr.*, 1895, p. 74.

³⁵ *Mém. de la Soc. Archéol. d'Eure-et-Loir*, XIV, 1905-1915, p. 405.

³⁶ Schwan-Behrens, *op. cit.*, Pt. III, pp. 47-61.

- Ni fait fenestre, c'elle n'i est, ne us.
 Sainne la laisse quant sainne l'a trovée;
 Ja n'iert veriere par soloil violee,
 Ne fus tu, Dame, par le digne soloil;
 Fu(i) li tuens cors reämpliz de consoil.
30. Si voirement com il te conforta,
 Quant par son ange, Dame, te salua,
 Et t'anonsa que dedans toi vanroit,
 De cez virtus, Dame, t'aömberoit,
 Oiëz-moi, Dame, car besoignablement
35. A toi, pucelle, me complain[g] et gaiment.
 Dex, tres piz peres, a cui me complainra[i],
 Et bonement a cui me dementrai,
 Fors qu'a toi, Sire, qui por pitie nasquis,
 Et a toi, Vierge, qu'o portas et norriz?
40. Si com Dex t'a consoillie et eslite
 Consoille-moi par ta sainte merite.
 Dex, qui consans totes virginitei,
 Toute virtu et toute poëstei,
 An ton saint cors se pot bien aömbrer;
45. Ce croi je, Vierge, sans toi desvirginer.
 Et il si fi[s]t, ce croi je, sans dotansse;
 Por ce a[i] je, Dame, an toi [mis] ma fiance,
 Que tu vers li m'aide[s] a acorder,
 Qui por sa mere te doingna esgarder,
50. Et an tes flans saintismes se torna(i),
 Et tes memelles sacrees alaita(i).
 Dex! com doux lait dont tu dignas tecier!
 Dex! tant saint ventre ou tu dignas couchier!
 Ben[e]joiz soit li piz et lez memelles
55. Qu' alaita Dex qui tant par furent belles!
 Et les mains saintes preciousses, sacreez,
 Qui le norrinent, les tres bienaüreez,
 Et l'ailaiterent tantes foiz et coucherent,
 Et le porterent tantes foix et baignerent.
60. O belle Dame, cui Dex tant parama,
 Qui de ces iaux doucement t'esgarda,
 Il fu(i) tez fiz, si fu(i) ta portaüre,
 O belle Dame, ta douce norriture.
 Il fu(i) tes fiz, Dame, si fu(i) tes pere,
- 65.

Tu fuz sa fille, Dame, si fus sa mere.
Benoiz soit li tieus fiz et tes pere!
Beno(i)te soit et tel fille et tel mere!
O belle Dame, cui Dex tant parama,
Qui de ces membres ton saint cors aôrna,
Je te depri qui sui ta creature,
Dolante chars pechauble sans mesure,
Si com il prist et sanc et char an toi,
Pri-li, Dame, quil ait merci de moi.

70. Ensi com tu a son huez t'atornas,
Et ton saint cors de bones mors ornas,
Par ta priere oste les males mours
De mon cors fraile, plain de mau[v]asse amours,
Qui de toz biens ont m'arme despoillie,
Et en maint leus de lor venin plaie.
De moi sont, Dame, plusor pechie adire,
Ensor que tot je ne pus nul bien dire.
Dame do ciel, je pri proprement
Et toz sains autres mout merciablement,

75. Si voirement com Dex ot de toi cure,
Prie-li, Dame, que mete an moi messure.
O belle Dame, Roisne precioûsse,
Qui de Deu fustes reämplie et jo[i]oûsse,
Qui a dolor lo veïz an croix pandre,
90. Et ces sains membres trespicer et estandre,
Qui de toi, Vierge, erent engenuï,
Plainne de grace, bien l'avoiez norri;
A tes sains iax les veïs trespicer,
Sans nul forfait son digne sanc raier,
95. De tout part veïs sa char sanglante.
Ne fu(i) mervolle, Dame, se fus dolante,
Quant a tel glave veïs ton fil morir,
A tel dolor passion sostenir.
C'estoit tes fiz, c'estoit ta porteüre,
100. O belle Dame, ta sainte norriture,
Qui tu veïz as iex mertirier,
Et (les) pecheörs sor son [saint] cors f(au)orgier.
Tu l'egardas comme mere amplorant,
Et il toi, Vierge, come fiz am morant.
105. Tu l'egardas plainne de grant dolor,

- Et il toi, Vierge, plains de grant dosor.
 A son desciple quil onques plus ama,
 Quil cognut vierge, Vierge, vous commanda.
 Pour la pitie quil ot enqui de toi,
 Et tu de lui, aiiez merci de moi.
110. Dex, ne despire-moi qui sui ta creature,
 Dolante cha[r]s, pe(r)chable sans mesure.
 Prie ton fil que me doingne esgarder,
 Qui de son sanc me digna racheter.
 Pour la pitie dont tu fus reämplie,
115. Dame, a la mort, prie-li que m'aie,
 Proigne de moi, se li plait, la vangansse,
 Et me doint grace de fair penitansse.
 Tant com me lait an cest siegle regner,
 Me moite an voie que a lui pusse aler,
120. Et mes pechiez me lait espeneir,
 Et la deserte de mes maus recoillir.
 Que devant lui ne soit m'arme damnee,
 Quant ele estra de mon cors dessevree.
 Que soi ne autre ne porra consoillier;
125. N'aura que panre et n'aura que baillier.
 Lors la consoille, Vierge, bienaüree,
 Dame do ciel, Roïne coronee,
 Dont la se[c]or, sainte vierge Marie,
 Que ja deaubles ne l'ait en sa baillie,
130. Ne nuns forfaiz ne li soit reprochiez
 Prie ton fil qu'a ma mort soit voingiez,
 Et (n) en sa grace contre toz maz me toingne
 Que ja deaublez por mon pechie ni voingne.
 Et an cest siegle verai pardon me face,
135. Et ne trestort de m'orison sa face.
 O belle Dame, fontainne de pitie,
 Et medicine de mal et de pechie,
 Ne desdoingnier m'orison recoillir,
 Et ne despire mon plor ne mon sospir.
140. Doigne-moi, Dame, regarder piement,
 Prie ton fil quil m'ait isnellement,
 Et me secorre, que toz voix chancelant,
 Qu'a nul bien faire ne me voix aprestant.
 Prie-li, Dame, qu'[a] moi secorre antande,
- 145.

Bele dame trespie empereriz
De dāpnedeu estes mēr engenderiz
mperiz des reis & des remes.
Vugene des iugenes e glorie des meschines.
oer sen deuuent tutes les creatures
Que deu ad fait a rassimables figures.
a gnt tristur que eue nus aporta
Ransis dame tun frut lec ea.
le portā mort dame tu portas uie.
T asamte paia sa felonie.
ur tutes autres & ta merite bele.
Tu ioriz les iugene deu enfantas puceles
lors portent plusiurs reis triens.
E tu portas le creatur del tens.
exi del ciel de la terre e des angles.
Seluens saint cors ne fessit pas estranges
n rei pst char e lanc si precius.
Dar quel limundz & de mort ressus.
ngunité en rei ne uiola.
Ne deute del ciel ne i amenus.
ngunité prameis e amas
Tu ioriz les iugene e iugue par maudoms.
ngunité par rei ne fud dampnee.
Dent pl queuerrine par soleil deramee.



- Et tel me face que je m'arme li rende.
Et si li prie que celle passions
Que il soffri me soit redemptions
Quant lo veïz clofichier et ferir,
Et en morant a son pere obeir.
150. Unques nuns duez a ton n'aparoilla,
Car parmi t'arme li glaives trespassa.
Se duel eüs, Dame, ne fu(i) mervoille
Quan[t] de son sanc veiz la char vermoille,
155. Que tu avoiez conceü[e] et norrie,
Et sans pechie avoit vescu sa vie.
Et bien savoiez c'estoit tes creators,
Tez fiz, tes sires, tes Dex, tez savaors,
160. Que tu veiz a tel dolor occire
Ne nule boche no porroit conter mie.
Com li tuens duez, Dame, fu(i) angoisseus,
Sor toz les autres fu(i) tes cuers delireus.
165. Quant tu veis et ton fil et ton pere
A glave occire onques tel duel n'ot mere.
Done-lo-moi, dame, si remembrer
Que dignement lo t'aidoie a plorer.
170. La tue ire est an grant joie tornee.
Desor les anges es roïne clamee.
Desor lor chiez es, Dame, ou ciel assisse,
O belle dame, cui Dex a si haut misse,
175. Je te depri mout merciaublement
Et por decerte ne quier an toi neant.
Fors soulement par ta grant dignete(i),
Par ta merci et par ta piête(i),
180. Prie ton fil quil me giet de pechie,
Et an la fin moite m'arme an son cie,
Et si me doint icelle repantansse
Qu'an cest siegle face ma penitansse,
185. Et si me doint que je l'arme li rande
Tant qu'a la fim a sa [mer]ci parvoigne:
Et an la fin voire confession
M'outroie, Dame et si oi[s] m'orison.
Si voirement com Dex fu(i) nes de toi,
Pri-li, Dame, quil ait merci de moi.
Vierge, Pucelle, de pitie reämplie,

- Secor-moi, Dame, a la fin de ma vie.
 Secor, Pucelle, ma grant destruction,
 Vers ton chier fil fai por moi orison.
 Quar moi moïsmes ne li plait a antandre,
 Et de secors je ne sap ou point prandre,
 Fors qu'a toi, dame, qui es si poëstive
 De consoillier m'arme la tres chaitive,
 La tres dolante, la tres malaüree
 Qui de cest siegle istra si esgaree
 Que avec lui n' an porra riens porter
 Fors sez pechiez por lui plus ancombrer.
 Dous Rois hautismes, qui la consoillera?
 De ces meffez qui la respirera,
 Mi pechie, Sire, vers toi m'acuseront?
 200. Or sont repot, et lores apparront.
 Secor-moi, Dame, Roïsne, an icelle hore,
 Que mi pechie me voudront corre sore.
 Oste-les, Dame et depart de sor moi,
 Si com je ai grant esperance an toi,
 Li ami Deu et toutes les amies,
 Ange et archange do ciel les compaignie[s],
 Merci vos pri que m'arme visitez
 Par vos proieres a Deu me racordez.
 Digniez li tuit por moi merci cri'er,
 210. Quant de ma boche ne porra[i] riens parler.
 Sainte Marie, par ta sainte merite,
 An icelle hore secor mon esperite.
 Et me demostre ta gloriöusse face,
 Que par t'amor Dex voir pardon me face.
 215. Por la pitie quil ot an croix de toi,
 Et tu(i) de lui quant il dit; "Or ai soi!"
 Et apres dit; "Or est tot accompli!"
 Le chief anclin mors fu(i) de devant ti.
 Por celles larmes que tu por li ploras,
 Secor-moi, dame, quant morir me verras.
 Quant dovre m'arme de mon lait cors issir,
 Sainte Marie, soiez a departir.
 Par toz les nons que Dex se fit nommer,
 Prie-li, Dame, que me doingne esgarder,
 225. Tre[s] pie Dame, si com la creature,

- Qui de ma char a pris sa droiture,
Par ton grant duel et par sa passion,
Remembre, Dame, plement m'orison,
La ou la boche me clora an morant,
Adont me soiez, douce Dame, a garant.
Mere de Deu ou je ai esperansce,
Adont me soiez an voire remambransce.
Illuc, Roisne, apparront mi pechie,
Et mi forfait me seront reprochie,
Pour moi jugier et pour moi encombrer,
Sainte Roisne, ne me lassiez dampner.
Si com tu es secors as pech'eors,
Sainte Marie, illuques me secors.
Adont iert, Dame, mes soverains besoings,
Merci te cri que de moi ne t'esloings.
Illuc me soit ta mercis secorrauble,
Vers ton chier fil qui tant est merciauble,
Et a la mort, Dame, vostre chiers fiz
Par ta proiere me giet de toz periz,
Non por merite que ai je deservie,
Fors por la vostre, Dame, Sainte Marie,
Que li tiens fiz me moite o sez amis,
Qui vit et roigne sans fin en Paradis.

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RACINE AND CORNEILLE DURING THE CONSULATE AND EMPIRE

THE years which followed Napoleon's *coup d'état* of 1799, as a recent historian has pointed out,¹ are more aptly characterized by the term "Restoration" than the period to which that name is conventionally applied. The dominant impulse in literature, as in social life, was to salvage and restore as much as possible of the life and culture of the old régime, which had been disrupted by the Revolution. More perhaps than any other circumstance, the publication of La Harpe's *Cours de littérature* and the enthusiastic reception accorded it by the public typified the trend of literary opinion. Now La Harpe, faithful in this respect to the teachings of his master Voltaire, dated the perfection of French literature from the reign of Louis XIV, and held up Racine as the model *par excellence*. The ample and sympathetic exposition of Racine's plays in the *Lycée* contrasts strikingly with the niggardly amount of space accorded to Corneille, and the comparison between the two dramatists, whatever its professions of impartiality, led to the conclusion "qu'une nation qui, en admirant les beautés de Corneille préférerait les tragédies de Racine, serait une nation équitable et éclairée."²

This was the orthodox opinion, and for the moment seems to have passed uncontested. For about half a century since the death of Fontenelle and the publication of Voltaire's commentary, Corneille's fame had suffered a partial eclipse. Racine and Voltaire had crowded him from the stage. Soon after 1800, however, as is shown by the records of the theatre and the press, there was a considerable revival of his popularity.³ During the first two or three years following the re-establishment of the

¹ Pariset, in Lavisson, *Histoire de France contemporaine*, III, p. 354.

² La Harpe, *Cours de littérature* (ed. 1837), I, p. 591.

³ The number of performances of Corneille's tragedies at the Comédie-Française during these years was as follows: 1800: 0; 1801: 16; 1802: 28; 1803: 25; 1804: 34; 1805: 55; 1806: 36; 1807: 44; 1808: 29; 1809: 26; 1810: 28; 1811: 27.

The height of the vogue was reached in the year 1805. In the single month of January 1805, we note performances of *Nicomède*, *Cinna*, *Horace*, *Le Cid* and *La Mort de Pompée*.

Comédie-Française, Corneille was represented only by fitful performances of *Le Cid*, *Horace* and *Rodogune*. Then followed a series of revivals: *Cinna* (1802), *Pompée* and *Polyeucte* (1803), *Sertorius* (1804), *Nicomède* (1805), *Héraclius* (1807). The restorers of taste were eager to slight no one of the glories of the old régime, and clamored in the press for the revival of more and more tragedies; naturally the movement which brought back upon the stage such dubious lights as Crébillon, Lafosse and Le Franc de Pompignan, redounded *a fortiori* to the benefit of "le vieux Corneille." Special causes also favored the older poet, the well known predilection of Napoleon,⁴ and the realized affinity between the heroic stamp of Corneille's Roman tragedies and what Geoffroy called "l'étonnante et merveilleuse tragédie qui se joue depuis seize ans sur le grand théâtre de l'Europe."⁵ It was found that the public which had lived through the revolutionary cataclysm and which followed the bulletins of Napoleon's campaigns had a keen appetite for heroism on the stage and crowded the parterre when Corneille was performed.

As the vogue of Corneille became a thing of note, Geoffroy constituted himself his prophet in *feuilleton* after *feuilleton*, glad of an opportunity to wield this cudgel against Voltaire and the Voltaireans. The latter, he would have us believe, were taken by surprise.⁶ Geoffroy also welcomed Corneille as a necessary complement to Racine,⁷ without, however, sacrificing a particle of his admiration for the latter. When he conceived Corneille to have received unwarranted praise at the expense of Racine, he was careful to redress the balance.⁸

⁴ "Ce suffrage illustre a beaucoup contribué à rétablir les honneurs et le crédit du père de notre scène." (Geoffroy in *Journal des Débats*, 14 ventôse, an XII.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, 18 frimaire, an XIV (cit. Des Granges, Geoffroy, p. 279)—"La révolution nous a expliqué cette pièce [*Cinna*]." (*Ibid.*, 15 pluviôse, an XI, cit. Des Granges, p. 278.)

⁶ "La plupart des gens de lettres, encore imbus du goût et des préjugés qui ont infecté la littérature vers la fin du dernier siècle ne conçoivent pas ce succès, cette vogue du vieux Corneille." (*Débats*, 22 janv., 1805.)

⁷ "Corneille laisse un moment reposer Racine, il est bon d'opposer de temps en temps aux passions de l'auteur d'*Andromaque* et de *Phèdre*, l'héroïsme de l'auteur de *Cinna* et des *Horaces*. Racine seul amollirait trop les âmes, Corneille est nécessaire pour leur donner du ton . . ." (*Débats*, 10 janv., 1805.)

⁸ Thus he maintains that Racine embodies more historical truth than Corneille, citing the characters of Néron, Acomat, Mithridate, Monime, Roxane. "Dans ces

For Geoffroy, the respective claims of Corneille and Racine were not a source of embarrassment. Other critics found it less easy to maintain an attitude of impartiality, and in particular one resounding assertion of Corneille's pre-eminence seemed to exalt him at the expense of Racine, and was to call forth rejoinders from those who made the latter their idol.

On November 24, 1807, François Raynouard was received into the Academy.⁹ He was the author of the *Templiers*, a historical tragedy which had met with great success in 1805. In his *discours de réception* his declared intention was to "consider tragedy in its influence upon the national spirit." Surveying the past history of French tragedy, he paid his respects to Racine, who had painted the torments and charms of love "dans une poésie enchanteresse," but to Corneille he ascribed the invention of "la tragédie nationale." "C'est Corneille, Corneille seul, qui a relevé le temple de Melpomène." If a contest were held among nations for the sceptre of poetry, Greece would, no doubt, put forward Homer; Rome, Virgil; Italy, Tasso or Ariosto; England, Milton:

"et nous tous, oui, vous-même qui savez admirer Racine. . . . Ah! dans le péril de notre gloire littéraire, un seul cri s'élèverait, et ce cri vous le prononcez avec moi: CORNEILLE."¹⁰

The spring of the year 1808 saw the publication of a number of *Éloges de Corneille*, written in competition for the prize offered by the Institut. Such panegyrics are a feature of the literature of the Empire. They afforded an outlet to the pent-up rhetoric of young men of letters, were regarded as an appropriate monument to literary glories of the past, and never failed to be seriously reviewed by the *Mercure* and the daily press. Boileau had been so honored in 1804. Racine's name was absent from rôles admirables, rien n'est donné au théâtre, à la mode, aux préjugés nationaux; tout est sacrifié à la vérité: Corneille n'offre pas souvent ce rare exemple de courage." (*Débats*, 6 fév., 1805, cited by Des Granges, *op. cit.*, p. 278.) For further details of Geoffroy's attitude toward Corneille, Racine and Voltaire see Des Granges' book, *passim*.

⁹ Raynouard was a Provençal recently settled in Paris and a *novus homo* in the republic of letters. See Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du lundi*, V, p. 1 ff.

¹⁰ *Discours prononcés dans la séance publique tenue à l'Institut le mardi, 24 nov., 1807, pour la réception de MM. Laujon, Raynouard, Picard.*

the series, no doubt because in 1772 he had been eulogized by no less a person than the "Quintilien français," and this eulogy, having been largely incorporated in the *Lycée*, was in everybody's memory.

Victorin Fabre, the prize-winner in this contest, as in others of the same sort, expresses indignation that Corneille's glory has been diminished in order to swell that of Racine. La Harpe is rebuked for having called Racine the first to have sought the source of tragedy in the human heart, and for having refused to Corneille the title of "painter of the passions."¹¹

"Ces découvertes sublimes," he exclaims, "on ose t'en disputer la gloire ! Et les palmes que tu fis naître, on voudrait les placer sur le front d'un rival ! Ce rival digne de te suivre, a multiplié tes prodiges et perfectionné tes créations : il les a perfectionnées, et l'on veut qu'il en soit l'inventeur. . . . Veut-on que le monde littéraire ait aussi ses Améric Vespuces, comme il a ses Christophe Colombs?"¹²

Contrary to La Harpe's teaching, we owe Racine to Corneille; and an examination of his work would show him to be full of his predecessor: he even took from Corneille's *Pertharite* "the germ of the first and, I should almost venture to add, the most tragic of his masterpieces."¹³

The other encomiasts do not show as much eagerness to redress the balance in favor of Corneille. They are rather at pains to parry the charge that in praising the father of French tragedy they are slighting the claims of his successor. Jay uses the words:

" . . . Racine qu'une erreur trop commune a fait considérer uniquement comme le peintre de l'amour et qui n'excelle pas moins dans les tableaux de l'héroïsme et de la vertu."¹⁴

Chazet declares unjust the dictum that Corneille had more genius, Racine, more wit; "comme si l'auteur de *Phèdre*, de *Britannicus* et d'*Athalie* n'avait des droits qu'à l'esprit!"¹⁵

¹¹ V. Fabre, *Éloge de Corneille*, p. 24.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁴ A. J.[ay], *Éloge de Corneille*, p. 40.

¹⁵ R. de Chazet, *Éloge de Corneille*, p. 32.

Both Chazet and Auger begin by citing Racine's eulogy of Corneille, a procedure the delicacy of which is commended by a reviewer in the *Mercure*.¹⁶

Chazet, in spite of his general orthodoxy, did not escape being rapped on the knuckles by a critic in the *Débats*, or the *Journal de l'Empire*, as it was then called. The reviewer in question, F. B. Hoffman, had been recently added to the staff of literary editors by Etienne, the new director, and was destined to remain one of its leading lights for twenty years. Chazet had remarked that Corneille abandoned the practice of the Greeks, who had employed fatality and the supernatural in tragedy; and Hoffman would not let pass even this constructive diminution of Racine's merit:

" . . . si son respect pour Racine l'a empêché d'en tirer une conséquence défavorable à ce grand homme, on voit cependant qu'il fait un mérite à Corneille de n'avoir point imité les Sophocle et les Euripide.

" Il résulterait donc, d'une part, que les Grecs se seraient trompés, et que Racine aurait eu plus de tort encore de les imiter dans ce qu'ils ont de vicieux. . . . puisque dans le 19^e siècle on fait revivre cette vieille erreur, il faut bien se résoudre à la combattre de nouveau.

" Contentons-nous donc de dire qu'un homme tel que Racine, n'a pas mis tout son génie à traiter des sujets sans intérêt, et à nous représenter des personnages sans vices et sans vertus. Corneille est bien assez grand pour qu'on puisse le louer sans déprécier Racine, qui, quoi qu'on fasse, sera toujours pour lui un rival redoutable."¹⁷

A brochure published in this same year,¹⁸ bombastic in its title and style, thus describes the literary polemic:

" Nos Poètes, nos Savants, nos Littérateurs, les gens d'esprit et de goût, engagent entre eux, dit-on, une lutte littéraire, dont le principe est la prééminence de Corneille sur Racine, etc. Prééminence établie dans un Discours de réception académique (celui de M. Raynouard). Soudain, les réflexions s'enfarent,

¹⁶ "On voit avec intérêt la modestie d'un jeune littérateur s'étayer de l'opinion d'un grand homme pour en louer un autre, et n'offrir le nouveau jour qu'il va répandre sur les ouvrages et les triomphes de Corneille que comme un reflet de la lumière que Racine y a déjà versé." (*Mercure de France*, juin, 1808, p. 466.)

¹⁷ F. B. Hoffman, *Oeuvres*, VIII, p. 332.

¹⁸ Darragon, *Le prononcé, ou la prééminence du grand Corneille*.

les pensées pour et contre se manifestent, les savantes discussions se développent, les opinions se heurtent, et le choc bruyant des esprits retentit de toutes parts."

Darragon "pronounces" in favor of Corneille's pre-eminence, playing Sancho Panza to Raynouard's Don Quixote. Racine had not "conceived tragedy as powerfully as Corneille, his touch was commonly less masculine, less energetic, less bold," and to conclude:

" . . . les beautés incomparables de Corneille, qui, comme un souffle impétueux, *font tout ployer devant elles*, le faisant planer, en fait de force, de conception, de fécondité, de noblesse, de grandeur et de sublimité, au-dessus de tout ce que les Muses tragiques ont pu produire de régulier, d'élégant, de beau et de parfait, le placent naturellement, je crois, à leur tête, le sceptre poétique à la main. Tel est mon prononcé."

A writer in the *Gazette de France* went so far as to denounce the existence of a sort of literary conspiracy, of which Raynouard, one gathers, was the ring leader, aiming to destroy or weaken all accepted ideas of what constitutes the true and the beautiful. These "écumeurs de mer" shelter themselves under Corneille's standard, preferring, as a model, a genius with many faults, to an artist of *désespérante perfection* like Racine. The ill had been diagnosed by La Harpe before the Revolution. If, however, one asks what French writer has equalled the continuous perfection of Virgil, the prince of the Latin poets, "de façon à exercer sur les âmes sensibles et sur les esprits cultivés, l'empire à la fois le plus doux et le plus absolu," there can be no doubt. "C'est l'auteur d'*Andromaque*, de *Phèdre*, d'*Iphigénie*, d'*Athalie*; c'est Racine, le seul Racine."¹⁹

Racine's claims to pre-eminence were asserted in verse in an

¹⁹ *Gazette de France*, 29 mai, 1808.—Compare Dussault's strictures on Lebrun, who had tried to justify his own audacities by those of Corneille. He writes thus in reviewing the posthumous publication of Lebrun's works in 1811: "La justification serait un peu moins suspecte s'il en avait puisé les moyens dans Boileau, dans Racine, dans La Fontaine. Tous les hommes savent . . . de combien de tournures sagement audacieuses ces grands maîtres ont enrichi notre langue: pourquoi donc M. Lebrun n'appelle-t-il que Corneille à son secours? . . . ses *Remarques sur les hardiesSES poétiques du grand Corneille* renferment donc toute sa théorie sur l'art d'écrire en vers; et cette théorie est véritablement si singulière; elle annonce une absence si totale, si absolu du goût, qu'il est surprenant qu'avec de pareils principes, M. Lebrun n'ait pas encore fait plus mal." (Dussault, *Annales littéraires*, III, p. 370, 24 juillet, 1811.)

Epître à M. Raynouard,²⁰ by J. G. Viennet, then a young army officer, who was destined through all the chances and changes of a literary career of some fifty years to be a last-ditch defender of the classical standards:

"Si mon goût, Raynouard, n'a trompé ma raison
 Parmi tous les Français estimés d'Apollon,
 Racine, au premier rang élevé sans partage
 Doit des siècles futurs emporter le suffrage."

With this categorical claim he begins his epistle, and argues the case at considerable length. Corneille has over Racine only a "faible droit d'ainesse." Racine did not derive his talent from Corneille, and has as much a right as he to be called the founder of French tragedy. Corneille, for all his genius, left in his work many faults and the Greeks remained still unsurpassed:

"Racine seul, Racine à leur école instruit,
 De ces heureux travaux obtint ce digne fruit,
 Les limites de l'art devant lui reculèrent."

What according to Viennet were the characteristics of this new art? First, a truthful delineation of the passions:

"Emprunter de l'amour le charme tout puissant
 Et de la vérité le langage et l'accent."

Secondly, an action of proper extent, easily moving, simple, rich, orderly and clear. Third, beauty of style:

"Notre langue enhardie à son faite montée,
 Simple, mélodieuse, à l'oreille enchantée,
 Fit entendre des sons jusqu'alors inconnus,
 Eut des charmes secrets qu'on ne retrouva plus."

But this merit in Racine was uncontested. The question at issue which Viennet proposed to settle was whether Racine joined to harmoniousness a vigor equal to Corneille's:

"Mais par où commencer? Comment peindre
 à la fois

²⁰ Viennet: *Épîtres et Satires* (ed. 1860), p. 66. The *épître* is dated 1809, and was crowned at the *jeux floraux* of 1810.

Ce groupe de héros, cette foule de rois,
Que viennent à l'envie s'offrir à ma mémoire,
Et fiers de leur poète, en proclamer la gloire?"'

We are given a personally conducted tour through Racine's plays, leading up to *Iphigénie*, the supreme masterpiece, which evokes especial ecstasy. It is true that *Athalie* has long contested this place of primacy, but for Viennet the charms of *Iphigénie* are paramount:

"Un penchant plus heureux m'attire vers l'Aulide;
L'Aulide est le tableau de la nature humaine,
Tout m'y plaît, tout m'y charme. . . ."

And these ravishing beauties are not flashes in a dark night but a steady radiance. Could one hesitate to take such a poet as master?

"Oui, Raynouard, tel est le poète que j'aime,
Que je voudrais te rendre aussi cher qu'à moi-même.
Lui seul peut aujourd'hui, sur le Pinde français,
Arrêter du faux goût les rapides succès.
Ramenons à son culte un public infidèle;
Faisons de ses écrits une étude éternelle.
Si jamais de l'atteindre on ne doit espérer,
Sur ses traces du moins on ne peut s'égarer.
Honorons ses rivaux; mais quand l'art dégénère,
Quand César veut le rendre à sa splendeur première,
N'offrons à nos auteurs qu'un modèle achevé.
Que Racine triomphe, et le goût est sauvé!"

To Viennet the very idea of a contest between nations for the sceptre of poetry was blasphemy. As for the Greeks and Romans, well and good:

"Eux seuls aux lois du goût ayant voulu céder,
Ils ont seuls avec nous le droit de décider,
Et je les vois instruits par le fils de Latone,
Au vainqueur d'Euripide adjuger la couronne."

Should we listen seriously to nations that have rejected the canons of correct taste and lavished their homage on "des monstres bizarres?"

"Non, non; puisqu'un Français leur doit faire la loi,
 Du théâtre français qu'ils adoptent le roi.
 Sur des titres certains notre estime se fonde.
 L'idole de Paris le doit être du monde;
 Le temps fera sa gloire et la postérité
 S'étonnera qu'un jour le monde ait hésité."

Corneille found another champion in Népomucène Lemercier, whose lectures on tragedy, which make up the first volume of his *Cours analytique de littérature*, were delivered in 1810 and 1811 at the Athénée, where ten years before La Harpe had held sway. Lemercier, under these circumstances, felt it necessary to show that he did not defer slavishly to his predecessor's authority. What he criticised most sharply in La Harpe was the invidious comparison between Corneille and Racine.²¹ Is he therefore to be classed with Raynouard and the Cornelians who had recently stirred up such resentment among the partisans of Racine?

Like Raynouard, Lemercier had tried, in *Pinto* and *Christophe Colomb*, to renovate the drama by calling in the resources of history. One is not surprised, therefore, to find that he gives special praise to Corneille for creating historical tragedy or, in the phraseology of the Empire, "opening the theatre of Mel-pomene to Clio." Corneille's successors, including Racine, "all showed the inferiority usual in imitators"²² in the treatment of historical subjects, which Lemercier associated with sublimity. Accordingly, he is led to conclude, "Racine a bien peint les coeurs, et Corneille les grands coeurs."²³

As one follows Lemercier's exposition of the various aspects of dramatic composition, the famous twenty-six rules or conditions of the perfect tragedy, it is evident that he is led by his logic to give more and more praise to the consummate craftsmanship of Racine, his skill in choosing a subject—as evidenced especially in the case of *Andromaque* and *Bajazet*—his perfect observance of the three unities, his evocation of pity, especially

²¹ "Les tributs d'admiration qu'il porte à Racine, tout éclatants qu'ils soient, ne semblent même lui être payés, en expressions fastueuses, que pour déprécier l'éminence du grand génie de Corneille. . . ." (*Cours analytique*, I, p. 98.)

²² *Ibid.*, I, p. 176.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 176.

in "l'inconcevable *Phèdre*." In such matters of technique as exposition, elaboration and order of *scènes capitales*, handling of *coups de théâtre*, Racine is given the first place with little question.²⁴

What we find under the heading of *admiration* is more significant, for in *le genre admiratif* even La Harpe had allowed the pre-eminence of Corneille. Lemercier is here curiously negligent of Corneille's specific and legitimate claims. After admitting that Racine's characters are "more striking through truth than through grandeur," he adds that "in all that concerns excellence of poetry Racine is everywhere greater than his predecessor," and becomes lost in the wonder and admiration which Racine's creations inspire.²⁵ His panegyric here reproduces exactly the tone and movement of La Harpe's *Éloge*.

In regard to character drawing, Corneille is highly praised, but we are told that in the case of characters dependent upon passion "the advantage of Racine over his predecessor seems indisputable."²⁶ More significant is his treatment of the questions of *mœurs*, a controversial one, for even La Harpe had been unable wholly to refute Corneille's jibe, "Avouez que voilà des Turcs bien français." *Bajazet*, however, suggests no doubts to Lemercier. The play as a portrayal of manners draws from him only words of glowing praise.²⁷ We are not unprepared to find that when Lemercier reaches the topic of style his admiration for Racine is such that he prints the poet's name in capitals.²⁸

Lemercier's twenty-sixth and last requirement for excellence in tragedy is, like Plato's justice, the combination of all the other virtues; and to illustrate it he examines *Athalie* in all the hitherto mentioned aspects:

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 427 ff., 452, 491.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 307-308.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 395.

²⁷ "Quelle poésie! Quelle vérité! Relisez la pièce entière, et partout vous apercevrez le soin de l'écrivain à conserver exactement les habitudes et les bienséances du lieu, ou plutôt vous ne vous apercevrez plus d'aucun art." (*Cours analytique*, I, pp. 403-404.) Lemercier finds the same perfect portrayal of manners in *Brillanicus*, *Esther* and *Athalie*.

²⁸ "L'auteur qu'il faut citer le premier pour ce qui concerne le style, RACINE." (*Cours analytique*, I, p. 465.)

"Me détournant une fois du grand Corneille, pour m'occuper uniquement de Racine, j'avouerai que s'il a des beautés dans ses chefs-d'œuvre plus larges et plus hautes que celles de son successeur, il n'a point de pièces qui surpassent la beauté générale d'*Athalie*, où l'art qu'il créa fut si régulièrement perfectionné."²⁹

Habemus reum confitemet! In spite of his desire to differ from La Harpe, and to emphasize the greatness of Corneille, Lemercier in the last resort gives full adhesion to the orthodox view and reinstates Racine in all his rights. If you seek not flashes of genius or greatness in certain directions, but sustained perfection, you must turn to Racine; his art can reach the heights in every branch of excellence and at its best combine them all into a harmonious whole. Whatever may have been Lemercier's previous hesitations, the "XII^e et dernière séance," which concluded his presentation of tragedy, was a sustained paean in honor of Racine.

The foregoing examination should suffice to prove that the vogue enjoyed by Corneille under the Empire resulted in no diminution of Racine's reputation. In so far as it expressed a return to the seventeenth century and a turning away from the eighteenth—as with Geoffroy—it could only corroborate Racine's position. When, on the other hand, any partisan of Corneille's ventured to suggest that he should rank higher than Racine, or that his distinctive merits were more to be valued, replies were immediately forthcoming, stating Racine's claims with greater clarity and emphasis, and with a tone of authority. Finally, the work of Lemercier, which rounds off the literary criticism of the Empire as La Harpe's had ushered it in, in spite of sporadic attempts at originality redounding partly to the benefit of Corneille, really accords to Racine the palm of perfection in his art. The renaissance of Corneille determined a reaction in favor of Racine, which must be numbered among the forces tending to place the latter poet in a strongly entrenched position on the eve of Romanticism.

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²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 501.

MISCELLANEOUS

NOTES ON WITCHCRAFT AND *ALCAHUETERÍA*

AS we study the frequent references in Spanish literature to witchcraft, we find that this practice flourished as far back as the thirteenth century, but that at the same time an effort was being made to check its spread in the social structure.¹

At any rate, Alfonso el Sabio was very precise in describing the *alcahuete*,² his demoralizing influence on society, and the punishments to which he was to be subjected. In reading the *Siete Partidas*,³ we are informed that the *alcahuetes* were persons who inflicted great harm upon the land, that with words they deceived those who believed them, causing them to come to *pecado de luxuria*. Then the king goes on to show what the word *alcahuete* means, how many types there were of them, and what harm came from their deeds. He also tells us who may accuse the *alcahuete*, and finally he decrees their punishment.

Five types of *alcahuetes* were recognized by the monarch. The *bellacos* formed the first group. The second group was composed of pedestrian agents of women. In the third were included those we now classify as white slavers. In the fourth was any vile man who *alcahuetea a su mujer*. The fifth group was comprised of all those who used their own houses as a meeting place for delinquent people. After classifying the people of that trade, the King, in moralizing, adds that many quarrels and deaths occurred because of these conditions.

The classical type of the Spanish *alcahueta*⁴ may be con-

¹ In the following pages, with but few exceptions, only such material is given as was not used by Menéndez y Pelayo in his *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, ed. Bonilla y San Martín, Madrid, 1917, Vol. II, 217 *seg.*; Vol. III, 325 *seg.*

² The Spanish *alcahuete*, according to Bonilla y San Martín, "Antecedentes del Tipo Celestino en la Literatura Latina," *Revue Hispanique*, 1906, p. 375, "Sabe las virtudes de las yerbas, y es diestra en hechizos."

³ *Las Siete Partidas del Rey D. Alfonso el Sabio*, ed. of the Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1807, *Partida VII, Título XXII*.

⁴ Cf. Julio Puyol y Alonso, *El Arcipreste de Hita: estudio crítico*, Madrid, 1906, p. 286.

sidered as a witch, for her skill in securing her victims has about it something of the supernatural. In this way, *Trotaconventos*, the useful aid of the Archpriest of Hita, was so skillful and useful to her employer that he made no small lamentation at her death.⁵ But the type most clearly drawn is that of Celestina. She had six different trades, those of laundress, of perfumer, of former of faces, of *hacer virgos*, of *alcahueta* and of witch.⁶ The first was a cloak to all the rest. She is referred to as an *alcahueta*, with some characteristics of a witch, by Parmeno, who regrets that his master Calisto has fallen into the hands of that *trotaconventos*.⁷ Sempronio suggests to Calisto, as a help in securing the love of Melibea, the aid of Celestina, whom he describes as a bearded old woman and as a witch, who knows all the evils that exist, and at whose will rocks are moved and persons are excited to illicit love. When Melibea discovers the real object of Celestina's visit, she angrily accuses the old woman of being an *alcahueta falsa, hechizera*, and one who causes secret errors. If it were not that an accusation would bring publicity upon herself and family, she would have Celestina punished. Celestina herself mentions an intimate friend who had once been arrested as a witch.

In the employment of her charms, Celestina relied upon the devil. Calling herself "thy best known client," she invoked the devil and all the evil spirits of the lower world to help her to promote the love affair between Calisto and Melibea. That there was an agreement between the two—that one was dependent upon the other—is evident from the fact that Celestina warned the devil that as long as he cooperated with her she would do his bidding. If he did not, she could become his mortal enemy—she would injure his prison with light, she would cruelly denounce his lies, and with sharp words she would expose his horrible name.⁸ Three times she invoked the gods

⁵ *Libro de Buen Amor*, ed. Ducamin, Toulouse, 1901, p. 282.

⁶ *Comedia de Calisto e Melibea* (Burgos, 1499), ed. Foulché-Delbosc, Barcelona-Madrid, 1902, p. 17: "Ella tenia seys oficios, conuiene a saber: labrandera, perfumera, maestra de fazer afeytes e de fazer virgos, alcahueta, e vn poquito de hechizera." And again she is called a witch on p. 12.

⁷ On the Spanish origin of *Trotaconventos*, see Julio Puyol y Alonso, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

⁸ Foulché-Delbosc, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Cejador, *Celestina*, I, 163.

of the lower regions, and then departed, confident that she had the devil completely in her power. Later, when Melibea's mother was called away by her sister's illness, Celestina recognized the kindly interference of the devil, for she says: "Por aquí anda el diablo aparejando oportunidad, arreziando el mal a la otra," adding in a soft voice, "Good friend, now is my time or never. Do not leave her. Call whom I name from here." After a successful visit to Melibea, she expressed her appreciation in the words, "Oh, devil, whom I conjured, how well you have fulfilled your word in all that I asked of you!" And she repeats her threat when she says, "But if you did not further my plans, I will break all my bonds nor will I believe in herbs, stones, or words."⁹

By her cunning, Celestina had access to many places, even to the most sacred ceremonies held in convents, where she practiced her arts so successfully that she made the nuns forget their vows and virginity. Furthermore she knew many charms to remedy or promote love affairs. In a wider application, the same charms were used as preventives against disease and to cause punishments. We have a clear idea of Celestina's art of witchery from Parmeno's complete description of her workshop. Although he does not describe in detail the usage of each one of the objects mentioned, they are such as were well known during the middle ages. The "huessos de coracon de cieruo,"¹⁰ small stones found in the heart of a deer, were highly valued by pregnant women and those subject to fainting fits. If they were set in a brooch, made from the rivet of a ship that had foundered, the wearer had nothing to fear from snake bite.

⁹ The typical Spanish *Celestina* has an old and interesting background. Ovid in his *Ars Amatoria*, II, 99, and *Amorum*, lib. I, VIII; *Pamphilus de Amore*, ed. Bonilla y San Martín; *Roman de la Rose*; *El Libro de Alixandre*, ed. Morel-Fatio; *Libro de los engaños*, etc., ed. Bonilla y San Martín; Climente Sanchez, *Libro de los Enxemplos*, ed. Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, Vol. VII; and the *Conde Lucanor*, ed. Knust, all give us enough evidence to say that she is a direct descendant of them. Cf. Julio Puyol y Alonso, *op. cit.*, p. 282 seq., for a good account of the traditional *Celestina* and *trotaconventos*.

¹⁰ The following interpretation is found in Cejador's ed. of *La Celestina*, Madrid, 1913, I, p. 81, who took it from Pliny's *Natural History*. Lynn Thorndike in his *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, N. Y., 1923, Vol. II, p. 508, mentions the virtue which Petrus Hispanus ascribes to the bone in the heart of the stag as being especially beneficial for heart disease, but we have not been able to find any of the other virtues of that stone in other mediæval writers.

A compass, just as its needle is drawn to the North Pole, had the power to draw lovers together. A hangman's rope¹¹ was supposed to have the same properties as a compass and was eagerly sought after by witches. The origin of this superstition comes from the fact that a rope "arrastra y trae." As the man who was hanged supposedly died in good health, his vigor and physical qualities were believed to be transferred to the person who was fortunate enough to acquire the rope afterward. If tied around the head, it was a cure for headache. A stone taken from an eagle's nest was another love charm, and it was also used to detect robbers.¹² If the stone was kneaded in bread, the robber could not swallow a mouthful or any food which had been cooked with the stone in it. The heads of quails—which hide their heads in the sand—and the brains of an ass¹³—an animal famed for its stupidity—also had a mystic power over lovers. Barbary¹⁴ beans, moreover, were used to remove warts. They had to be buried secretly at night under an ash tree while magic words were repeated. As the beans decayed, the warts disappeared.

The quills of a porcupine were used by witches to stick in the wax figures of those they wished to torment. They, also, had medicinal properties of which the witches took advantage. As badgers were much feared by wolves and other wild animals, collars of their hair placed on the necks of horses and mules kept these animals from being attacked. Some assert that badgers also warded off diseases of the eye, and for this purpose a badger's paw was worn by children. But there was another use of this paw, which the Spaniards may have known; namely,

¹¹ Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXVIII, 12; also Thorndike, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 71.

¹² Cejador, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 85, quotes Isidoro of Seville, Pliny and Albertus Magnus, mentioning the virtue of the stone called *aetiles*. I have found another reference to the same stone in Philostratus' Life of *Apollonius of Tyana* (Eng. trans.), by C. P. Ellis, Stanford Univ., 1923, in II—14: "Who does not know how birds act? How eagles and storks never build their nests without inserting shining stones in them, eagle-stones for eagles and lamp-stones for storks, to help out the hatching and to drive away serpents."

¹³ Cf. Thorndike, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 580–581. The skull of an ass was also used to protect one from thieves. See Burdick, *Magic and Husbandry*, Binghamton, N. Y., 1905, p. 84.

¹⁴ Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXII, 72.

that, when placed beneath a person's bed, it excited love in his heart.^{14a}

In order to make these charms effective, *Celestina* required that the persons seeking her aid should give her a piece of bread they had bitten into, a piece of their clothing, or a lock of their hair.¹⁵ Sometimes she drew the likeness of the person loved on the palm of the hand of the client with saffron or vermillion. At other times she gave her consultants wax hearts¹⁶ full of needles, or frightful figures of clay or lead, upon which mutilations had been made. This magic operation caused the heart or the body of the person represented to suffer the same pains or indignities.

Celestina's associates were of the same sort as herself, for she tells us that *Parmeno's* mother fearlessly sought the implements of her trade. At midnight she used to go to the cemeteries and rob the graves of Christian, Moor, or Jew, taking such objects as would best serve her purpose. The bones of persons executed by fire and the bodies of illegitimate children she used in making medicines, while with the powder made from the bones of a man burned to death or from a disinterred skull she cured epilepsy. She sought the teeth of a man who had been hanged, for they had properties similar to those possessed by the rope used in the execution. If wrapped in cloth three times and put in a small container worn around the neck, they prevented toothache. In some cases it was necessary that the person afflicted should extract a sound tooth from the skull, by means of his own teeth.¹⁷ Thus the healthy condition of the tooth of the man cut off in his prime was transferred to the person extracting it. In the use of the magic circle,¹⁸ *Parmeno's* mother was

^{14a} Cf. C. G. Leland, *Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune Telling*, p. 120, New York, 1891.

¹⁵ The cooperation of the client with the witch or *curandero* was frequent in the middle ages; see Thorndike, *op. cit.*, II, 483.

¹⁶ The use of wax figures was widely practiced in magic from the earliest times. See E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, London, 1899, pp. 67-70, 73, 77.

¹⁷ Another instance of the use of a tooth for a different purpose, still dealing with the supernatural, is mentioned by Thorndike, *op. cit.*, II, p. 482.

¹⁸ The use of the circle was a common practice in magic and even in more serious works. Raymond Lull in his *Art Universal* made use of it in theological questions, but the author of *Celestina* may well have been acquainted with the one given by Alfonso el Sabio in his *Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. by the Marqués de Valmar,

more successful than Celestina herself. No sooner had she made a circle with chalk, sprinkled it with holy water, thrown in the golden coins—for none other were acceptable to the evil spirits—than, upon her stooping to pick them, the devil supplied all she had asked. She had such power that the devils themselves trembled when she began to exercise her charms. They came tumbling one over the other as fast as she called them, and not one dared to tell her a lie.

Certain signs were propitious to witchcraft. Celestina rejoiced that the divinations were in her favor because, upon leaving her house, the first word she heard was a love complaint, and because she had met four men, three of whom were Johns. Not a dog had barked at her nor had a crow¹⁹ or any bird of black feather (an emblem of ill luck) crossed her path.

Quevedo gives us another vivid picture of a new character. Pablo's mother had the reputation of being a witch. An old servant described her as being so affable that she bewitched all who came in contact with her, and at the same time as an indescribable rogue who came very near being covered with honey and feathers, the medieval equivalent of tar and feathers.²⁰ When Pablo's father boasted that he had always supported his family well, she indignantly replied:

"I have supported you and taken you from prison with my industry and supported you there with my money. If I did not fear that they would hear me in the street, I should tell about the time I entered by the chimney and took you out by the roof."

According to the author, her bed rested upon hangman's ropes.²¹

Madrid, 1889, Vol. I, *cantiga* 125. See also Waxman's "Chapters on Magic in Spanish Literature," *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. 38, p. 343, for the circle mentioned by von Haisterbach. See also p. 457 of this work, for another circle.

¹⁹ The crow was evidently regarded in Spain as a bird of bad omen. We may recall here the words of the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, ed. Menéndez Pidal, Vol. III, p. 1025, verses 11-12:

"A la exida de Bivar ovieron la corneja diestra,
e entrando a Burgos ovíeronla siniestra."

It all depended, however, on the direction in which the crow flew. See also p. 596 (word *corneja*), and p. 486, in this work of Pidal.

²⁰ *Vida del Buscón*, ed. Américo Castro (*Clás. Cast.*), Madrid, 1911, p. 14.

²¹ *Vida del Buscón*, p. 18. See Thorndike, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 71, where the hangman's noose is used to relieve headache.

But in spite of signs, charms and conjurations, the witches were not always at ease. They had something to fear; namely, punishment by the authorities for their evil deeds. In the time of Alfonso el Sabio, both the witches and *alcahuetes* were considered obnoxious and were dealt with accordingly. Any one could accuse²² an *alcahuete* before the judge of the place where the crime was committed. If the *bellaco* was proved guilty, he and his wards were driven out of town. If knowingly he had lodged women in his house for immoral purposes, he must forfeit his house to the king, and, in addition, he must pay a fine of ten pounds in gold. If young girls were reared in houses of ill fame, there was a twofold punishment, depending upon the status of the girl: If a captive, she must be set free;²³ if she were free, the man who was responsible for her moral downfall must marry her and also must give her a dowry sufficient to maintain her. If these conditions were not fulfilled, the man was put to death. The death penalty was also imposed upon any man who *alcahuetea a su mujer*, another married woman, a virgin, a nun, or a widow of good reputation.

Witchcraft in its various forms was also a crime punished by death unless it fell in a special class approved of by Alfonso.²⁴ Among the forbidden varieties of witchcraft was *adivinanza*, defined by the king as the wish to take power from God to know the things that are to come. There were two ways of this foretelling the future. The first was by the study of astronomy, which was considered a legitimate means and which was encouraged, provided the interpretation of the stars was made by men well trained in the science. The second was by the various means and devices used by *agoreros*, *sorberos* and *hechiceros*, who observed the omens of birds, of sneezes, of magic words, of fortune-telling by cards, who gazed in water, in a crystal ball,

²² Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, *Partida VII, Título XXII, Ley II*: "A los alcahuetes puédenlos acusar cada uno del pueblo ante los juzgadores de los lugares do facen estos yerros: y despues que les fuere probada el alcahueteria si fueren bellacos así como desuso diximos debenlos echar fuera de la villa á ellos et á las putas."

²³ *Ib., Partida IV, Título XXII, Ley IV*: "Cómo la sierva se torna libre quando su señor la pone en la putería para ganar dineros con ella."

²⁴ It is interesting to note that a father had the right to disinherit his son if the latter was found guilty of witchcraft. Cf. Callcott, *The Supernatural in Early Spanish Literature*, N. Y., 1923, p. 114.

in a mirror, in a sword or in any other shining instrument, who foretold the future by the head of a dead man or beast, by the palm of a child or of a virgin. Since great harm came from such persons, they were forbidden to live in the land or to practice their arts. Also people were forbidden to harbor them in their houses or to protect them.

Similarly, *nigromancia*, the power to enchant evil spirits, was banned, as well as the making of images of wax or of other metals or enchantments which make men and women fall in love or which caused the separation of mates. The giving of herbs or potions for the same purpose was prohibited because many times chronic illnesses and deaths resulted.

But if a witch practiced her arts with good intention—for example, to drive the devil from the body, to separate a husband and wife who were physically unfit,²⁵ to dissolve a cloud which caused hail or a fog which corrupted the fruits of the earth, or to kill locusts or insects harmful to grain and vineyards—then she was not punished but was rewarded for her powers. Upon all other witches punishment was inflicted. Any one could accuse them. If proved guilty by witnesses or confession, they were put to death, and those who knowingly protected them in their houses were exiled forever from their native land.

From the *Fuero de Zorita*²⁶ we may see that in the fourteenth century the person who was convicted as a witch or herbalist was burned to death or was given the opportunity to prove her innocence by grasping a hot iron bar.²⁷ The bar, four feet long, two inches wide and a palm in width, was blessed by the priest and heated jointly by the judge and the priest, who, fearing enchantments, took care lest any of the onlookers approach the fire. The woman was searched for hidden charms, and her hands were washed. She then picked up the bar, carried it nine feet, and placed it gently upon the ground. The judge covered her hand with wax, bandaged it, and accompanied her

²⁵ Alfonso el Sabio, *op. cit.*, Partida VII, Título XXIII, Ley III: ". . . 6 para deslegar á los que fuesen marido et muger que non pudiesen convenir en uno."

²⁶ Zauner, *Altspanisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg, 1921, p. 154.

²⁷ The ordeal by fire was of frequent occurrence in Spain at that time. We find that a wife, accused of unfaithfulness, offered to submit to it. See, on this, Calcott, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

home. In three days he visited her and removed the bandage. If her hand was burned, she must suffer the death penalty by fire.

A century or so later, we learn from *La Celestina*, witches were still punished for their magic arts. They were well aware that they would be brought to justice for their evil deeds because Sempronio said to Celestina, when they were discussing the plans to consummate the love of Calisto and Melibea, "Thinkst thou that any danger is like to come to us from engaging in this business?"²⁸ For a time he is reassured by Celestina, but he later adds, "Let us in any case keep our persons from peril" and *En pensallo, tiemblo; no vayas por lana e vengas sin pluma. . . O emplumada, madre, que es peor!*²⁹ In spite of her optimism, Celestina, in her long soliloquy at the beginning of Act IV, tells us that she fully realizes the seriousness of the business and knows that punishment is sure to follow if Melibea's parents find out her plans. If they do not kill her, they will have her tossed in a blanket, cruelly beaten, or compelled to ride through the streets with a pointed cap on her head. Parmeno adds a specific case when he calls Celestina "that *trotaconventos* who has been three times tarred (honeyed) and feathered," as also does Lucretia when she describes her as the old woman with the devil's mark on her forehead, who has stood on the pillory for being a witch.

According to Celestina, Parmeno's mother was comely, cheerful, very proficient in her trade, dignified, and self-possessed even on the scaffold. Surprised one night with certain little candles while she was gathering earth *de una encruzijada*,³⁰ she was seized and accused of being a witch. For this she stood half a day in the pillory, adorned with the hated cap, after being ridden through the streets on a donkey's back. But this did not cause her to give up her occupation. She followed it even more earnestly and with greater success because her punishment had called the attention of many to her powers.

Years later, we come to another case of popular feeling

²⁸ Foulché-Delbosc's ed. (Barcelona-Madrid, 1902), p. 39.

²⁹ *Id.*, p. 43.

³⁰ *Id.*, p. 87.

against witchery. For we read in *El Buscón*³¹ that at school the boys taunted Pablo for being the son of a prostitute and a witch who sucked the blood of small girls for her charms. As a final insult one cried, "I threw egg-plants at your mother when she was a bishop"; i.e., when she was riding on the donkey with the traditional cap. Months later,³² when a student at Cabras school, Pablo received a letter from his uncle telling him that his mother was a prisoner of the Inquisition at Toledo and that she, with four hundred others who had been condemned to death, would play a part in the *auto* on Trinity Sunday.

Cases of witchery and their punishment, then, are rather frequent in Spanish literature, especially in the Picaresque Novel. But the authors of that time were writing for a public well informed in contemporary affairs; so the allusions are always brief. Sometimes a little phrase such as "que me emplumen," or a still simpler reference to love charms, is all that has come down to us. In order to understand them they should be studied on a comparative basis because their explanation is found in kindred works of the earlier times. Albertus Magnus, Isidor of Seville, Petrus Hispanus, Philostratus and Pliny are some of the sources of information to which one might go, with caution, to verify some of this magic lore.

We can, however, distinguish through the continuous allusions the widespread practices of *hechiceros* and *alcahuetes*, and we may assert that a prosperous *alcahueta* was also a witch and a midwife like Parmeno's mother, the teacher of *Celestina*.³³

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³¹ Quevedo, *Historia de la Vida del Buscón llamado Don Pablos . . .* ed. Américo Castro, Madrid, 1911, p. 22: "Porque mi madre le había chupado las hermanitas pequeñas de noche.—Yo le tire dos berengenas a su madre cuando fue obispa."

³² *Id.*, p. 90: "Dicen que representara en un auto el día de la Trinidad con cuatrocientos de muerte."

³³ I shall take this opportunity to thank Professor Frances E. Arnold, of the University of Maine, for the encouragement and help she gave me during the preparation of this article.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SPANISH MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN¹

PREVIOUS to the late Dean Crane's edition of the Pez collection only one copy of this work was known to exist in this country. This copy, preserved in the Harvard University Library, is the one utilized by the editor. Formerly, all references to Pez had to be based on Mussafia's² and Ward's³ studies and extracts of the work. The studies of the former, which are the most important, are quite difficult to handle. Dr. Crane has summarized in his notes the most important parts of Mussafia's studies, providing adequate information for those who are not making a detailed study of these legends. The editor had already made available for students in this field another small collection of similar legends.⁴ In both of these publications the editor adds valuable notes and bibliography.

On pages 118-119 the editor gives a table of correspondence between Pez and ten other similar collections: Adgar, Berceo, *Cantigas*, Crane, Kjellman, Levi, Mielot, Pfeiffer, Tyron and Villecourt. Many others could have been added to this table, but the editor was restrained by the scope of the publication. This table of correspondence is one of the most important features of the edition.

Two Spanish collections have been included in this table: Berceo and the *Cantigas*. There is another very important collection of miracles of the Virgin in Spain that should have been added, but which the editor could not do for lack of space. This is the collection by Gil de Zamora, in Latin, belonging to the middle of the thirteenth century. All three Spanish collec-

¹ Made with special reference to Pez, *Liber Miraculis Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae*, ed. T. F. Crane, Oxf. Univ. Press, N. Y., 1925. Reviewed by Grace Frank, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1926, 340-1.

² *Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden*, in *Sitz. der Wiener Akad., Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, Vols. CXIII, CXV, CXIX, CXXIII, CXXXIX.

³ *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1893, Vol. II.

⁴ *The Miracles of the Virgin Mary*, in *ROMANIC REVIEW*, II, 1914, 235-278.

tions are of the same period, and they are intimately related. However it is useless to speak of influences at this early period, when the same legends were known and exploited simultaneously everywhere in Europe.

The correspondence between Zamora and the *Cantigas* is very striking. Of the eighty legends by Zamora 52 are versified in the *Cantigas*, 45 of them being included between *cantigas* 1 and 139. Gil de Zamora was a contemporary of Alphonse X and it is very probable that he collaborated with the learned monarch in the compilation of the *Cantigas*. If Zamora did not actually take part in the versification into Galician of his Latin stories, one can at least be fairly certain they formed the basis upon which the collection of Alphonse X was started.

The purpose of this note is simply to add one more column to the table of correspondence given by Dr. Crane, thus completing the correspondence between Pez and all the important Spanish collections and at the same time to show the intimate relation among the Spanish collections themselves. For the correspondence between these collections and other individual legends the reader should consult the *Cantigas* in the Academy edition.⁵

Pez	Berceo ⁶	Cant.	Zamora ⁷	Pez	Berceo	Cant.	Zamora
1	1	2	1	21	—	29	16
2	2	11	5	22	19	86	37
3	3	24	12	23	20	47	25
4	4	1	—	24	—	21	—
5	5	—	—	25	—	—	—
6	6	13	7	26	—	—	—
7	7	14	8	27	22	33	18
8	8	26	14	28	—	36	20
9	9	32	17	29	—	—	—
10	10	—	79	30	—	34	19
11	11	—	—	31	16	4	3
12	12	—	—	32	23	—	—
13	13	87	38	33	—	25	13
14	—	73	35	34	—	—	—
15	14	39	22	35	—	125	42
16	15	132	43	36	21	7	4
17	—	—	—	37	—	66	33
18	—	37	21	38-44	—	—	—
19	—	—	—	—	24	3	2
20	—	27	15	—	—	—	—

⁵ *Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. Marqués de Valmar, Madrid, 1889. See also A. Rey, *Índice de nombres propios y de asuntos importantes de las Cantigas de Santa María*, in *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 1927.

⁶ *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, ed. A. G. Solalinde, Madrid, 1922.

⁷ *Cincuenta leyendas* and *Treinta leyendas por Gil de Zamora*, ed. Fidel Fita in *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, VII, 54-144; XIII, 187-225.

Other correspondences between Zamora and the *Cantigas* are:⁸

Zamora	6	9	10	11	23	24	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	34	36
<i>Cant.</i>	12	19	21	23	41	45	49	51	53	54	61	62	63	67	81
Zamora	39	40	41	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	56				
<i>Cant.</i>	101	106	111	139	216	254	255	298	308	15	288				

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⁸ Pez contains 44 compositions; Berceo 25; the *Cantigas* 402, with some repetitions, and Zamora 80.

MORE ON THE *VOCES DEL CIELO*

IN a brief examination published in this review¹ I purposed to enquire into the origin of a stage-technical device of the Spanish playwright Mira de Amescua and suggested humanistic influences, ending up my study with the words:

"Whether or no this solution be adopted, there can be no doubt that Mira's use of the *voces del cielo* is directly or indirectly derived from a world-old mode of divination, usually called kledonomancy, from the term given it by the ancient Greeks, a term which has also been adopted by modern students of religion and folk-lore."

That *after* a perusal of the examples cited which led to this conclusion the matter should be "obvious to every one"² is very flattering to me and concedes to me more credit than I feel justified in claiming. Mira's humanistic learning may indeed be "too patent to demand proof"; so is Vergil's, to use a well-known example; yet although no "proofs" are required to show this, nay, although the ancients themselves were perfectly aware of the fact, modern scholarship has carefully and even painstakingly pointed out, not only all direct borrowings but even all passages which betray Homeric inspiration. But what is just to Vergil is equally so, *toutes proportions gardées*, to Mira de Amescua, and a study of this type is still considered essential and necessary, if not at the conclusion of a brief article, certainly, at least, in connection with critical editions of Renaissance texts.

As for the writer's contention³ that, rather than reproduce classical authors, Mira preferred to draw on "life itself," it will be seen from the conclusion of my previous study that I have never denied such a possibility as a *possibility*. Since we are however dealing with a typical Renaissance work, is it not strange that no account be taken of the Renaissance doctrine

¹ Vol. XVII, 1926, pp. 65-68.

² Cf. C. E. Anibal, "Another Note on the *Voces del Cielo*," ROMANIC REVIEW, XVIII, 1927, p. 246.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 247 ff.

of imitation? After all, it is not very safe to apply, without further enquiry, the "slice of life" doctrine of Emile Zola and Blasco Ibáñez to a play of the seventeenth century. As is well known, extreme caution must be used by ethnographers and folklorists when drawing on the works of Renaissance writers, Garcilasso's *Commentaries*, for example, for data of bearing on contemporary beliefs and institutions, either Spanish or American. For rather than report what they actually saw, they will inevitably drag in Greek and Roman analogues and give their books a humanistic coloring which greatly detracts from their value as historical and ethnographical source material. If a writer such as Garcilasso (and he is just one of the many I might mention) cannot describe the priestesses of the Sun without plundering the ancient accounts of the Vestal virgins, we are *prima facie* justified in concluding that, had kledonomancy been a hundred times as common in Spain as it actually was, neither Mira, nor Cervantes, nor any other of their contemporaries would have taken the trouble or even dared to mention such *superstitiones vulgi* without the authority of the ancients behind them.

On p. 249 f., while compiling the extremely interesting statements of the lexicographers, the writer observes that "in the seventeenth century this practice was called also *arfil* or *alfil*." Unfortunately, he failed to notice that in my previous article I had mentioned this very word in its Vulgar Arabic form.⁴ The fault is however my own; for I should no doubt have pointed out the identity of the two which has been somewhat obscured, the Spanish containing the Arabic word *plus* its article.

To indemnify my readers for their pains in following this discussion (of a rather elementary character, I fear), I may perhaps be permitted to quote two more classical passages which have come to my attention since. It is no less an author than Herodotus himself who tells us the following picturesque little episode.⁵

"Aristagores of Miletus, sent for the second time to Sparta, attempts to persuade and then to bribe the king Cleomenes into

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 66, middle of the page.

⁵ Herod., V, 51; cf. also W. Aly, *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seinen Zeitgenossen*, Göttingen, 1921, p. 145.

sending a Lacedaemonian army to aid the rebellious Ionians. The king's little daughter Gorgo, who is playing in the room, overhears the conversation (and witnesses, we may add, the rather vehement gestures of the impassionate speaker, a typical politician); finally she cries out in alarm: 'Father, if you don't go away, the stranger will do you some harm.' These words remind the king of his duty, and the ambassador is sent away without having achieved his mission."

The next example I can cite comes from Nicholas of Damascus,⁶ who most probably drew on Ctesias, Herodotus' bitter opponent:

"Astyages, Cyrus' grandfather, has permitted his grandson to go to Persia, but no sooner has he departed than the old king is informed of a dream of ill omen. He is deadly frightened. His wives, noticing his depression, try to cheer him up with songs; but quite unwittingly the contents of these songs suggest a train of thoughts which only heighten the monarch's fear. He sends 300 horsemen to Persia to arrest Cyrus; it is too late. Already Cyrus' rebellion is well under way and Astyages' kingdom doomed."

I am of course aware that, to those who know, these passages will teach little or nothing that is new. Yet since not even W. R. Halliday, the author of the most recent and comprehensive work on Greek divination, has or claims to have exhausted the source material available on kledonomancy, I think that my quotations and references may possibly prove helpful to folklorists, of whom there is quite a number among the readers of this review.

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⁶ C. Müller, *Fragm. hist. gr.*, III, 397 ff.; cf. also Fr. Spiegel, *Eränische Alterthumskunde*, II (Leipzig, 1873), p. 276.

A CALDERON DOCUMENT

IN *Documentos para la biografía de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, published by D. Cristobal Pérez Pastor (I, Madrid, 1905), document number 13 makes mention of Diego Calderón de la Barca, brother of the famous dramatist. This document, dated 1612, is the last will and testament of Doña Ines Riaño y Peralta, aunt of the two brothers, and in it she names Diego "primer capellán" of the "patronato real de legos en la capilla de San José." But as he is absent in Mexico at the time, the bequest is made to Pedro until such time as Diego shall return to Spain, provided he return and fulfill the conditions of the will.

Neither Pérez Pastor nor D. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori in his *Ensayo sobre la vida y obras de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (I, Madrid, 1924) give the date of Diego's departure for Mexico. A document in the Archivo de Indias in Seville casts light on this point, and is here given in full:

Archivo de Indias 60-2-7:

Diego Calderon de la Barca scriu^o de Camara de V. mag^d. en su Cons^o y Cont^a de Haz^{da}. = diçe que querria ymbiar A la ciudad de mexico a Diego Calderon de la Barca su Hijo y de Doña Ana Maria de Henao su muger y Para Poderlo Hacer = Supp^{os} A. V. mag^d. le aga mrd de Darle liçençia Para ello y Para que Pueda llebar quattro criados en su serui^o que en ello Reciuira mrd./Diego Calderon. (Rubric)

Note: Vaya con un criado (Rubric)/en la Cam^a a 30 de Abril de 1608.

Reverse side: Diego Calderon de la Barca de hedad de doce años blanco de Rostro una señal en la frente el pelo castaño claro y a fran^{co} su criado de 18 años moreno y el rostro largo.

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REVIEWS

H. A. Deferrari, *The Sentimental Moor in Spanish Literature before 1600*. University of Pennsylvania Publications of the Series of Romanic Languages and Literature, No. 17, 1927.

In this dissertation, Dr. H. A. Deferrari investigates, first, in how far the sentimental and gallant Moor of the romances corresponded to reality. On paper he was a perfect lover and the bravest of warriors, a paragon of all knightly qualities. De-spoiled of his power since the fall of Granada, he is the more interesting in his romantic melancholy and his regrets. Scholars have generally considered this chivalrous Moor as a creation of Christian romancers, the generous victors who idealized their former enemy. The principal argument they adduce in favor of this theory that the Moor was not a portrayal of any real personage, is that he was invariably depicted as monogamous, whereas the Mohammedan Moors were polygamous. Dr. Deferrari believes, however, that the Moor is far less a personage of fiction than has been held hitherto. He points out that many of the Moors professed either the Christian or the Jewish faith, while some had remained pagans. Many Moors were monogamous, and when they thus appear in the *Romanceros* and in the novels, they conform to reality. Nor were they "Christianized" by the romancers to the extent hitherto accepted. A great number of "Moors" were originally Christians and retained their Christian customs. In 1313, for instance, one third of the inhabitants of Granada were Christian renegades or captives. Dr. Deferrari brings forth other evidence to prove that there never existed any impassable barriers between Moors and Christians, and that there was furthermore a certain amount of intermarriage, even before the fall of Granada.

Yet, granting the whole of the author's argument, it is impossible to deduce from his proofs and documents that the Sentimental Moor, as he appears in literature, was not an idealized figure. Who can say, when dealing with a standardized character of fiction, where exactly the picture of reality ends and where fiction begins? What Dr. Deferrari has demonstrated is that the Moor in fiction was not in all his features as absolutely alien to the real Moors as scholars have been fond of believing. He shows that the argument that the Moor of the romances was entirely a fiction because he practised an essentially Christian morality, is valueless. Yet, even if the Moor in reality behaved much like a Christian, even if many Moors were cultured, and given to fastuous living—the Moor of fiction, depicted as a perfect and eloquent lover, as a knight of unsurpassable generosity, was yet created largely by contamination from the chivalric romances. That is why this heroic Moor behaves so much like a hero from the *Amadis*. The truth about the Sentimental Moor of romance seems to lie somewhere midway between the two conceptions which Dr. Deferrari opposed to one another: he is not as unreal as he was made out to be; but he was not as real as the author claims. In other words, he is just as much idealized as a Christian hero, and therefore as distant from actual life.

The principal incarnation of the Sentimental Moor in fiction is Abindarráez the Abencerraje, whose adventures and marriage to Xarifa are considered the starting point of the Hispano-Moorish *genre*. Dr. Deferrari tries to settle the complex prob-

lem of the priority and the mutual relations of the several known sixteenth century versions of the Abindarráez story. They are:

1. *Parte de la Corónica del inclito infante don Fernando que ganó a Antequera*, published in the *Bulletin Hispanique*, 1923, a small black letter book dating, apparently, from the first half of the sixteenth century.

2. A version which was inserted by an anonymous editor in the 1561 Valladolid edition of Montemayor's *Diana*, the printing of which was finished on January 7, 1562.

3. A version which appeared in the *Inventario de Antonio de Villegas*, printed for the first time in 1565, but licensed in 1551. Ticknor, who knew only the last two versions, concluded that the *Diana* version was derived from the Villegas version notwithstanding the fact that the Villegas version appeared in print three years after the *Diana* version. To explain this, scholars surmised that the compiler of the *Diana* version had access to the Villegas manuscript which had already been licensed in 1551. This conclusion has become a scholarly tradition and was accepted by, among others, the late Professor Rennert and Menéndez y Pelayo. H. Mérimée, however, in the *Bulletin Hispanique* (XXI, 1919, pp. 143-166), came to the more logical conclusion that both the *Diana* version and the one of the *Inventario* go back to the *Parte de la Corónica*.

Dr. Deferrari's conclusions do not differ in any marked degree from those reached by Menéndez y Pelayo. But he believes that the *Diana* version is based on both the *Parte de la Corónica* and the *Inventario*. On p. 41, the author gives the result of his textual comparisons, which, he thinks, goes to substantiate this opinion. Yet this very point of literary history seems to be in need of revision.

Besides the texts which Dr. Deferrari has consulted, following the examples of other scholars, we know that there exist, or have existed, at least the following other texts which have not been studied:

1. The lost text on which the *Parte de la Corónica del inclito infante don Fernando que ganó a Antequera*, was based. The author states in the introduction:

" . . . habiendo estos días pasados llegado a mis manos esta obra o parte de crónica que andaba oculta y estaba inculta, por falta de escriptores, procuré, con fin de dirigirla a vuestra merced, lo menos mal que pude sacarla a luz, enmendando algunos defectos della." (Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, I, p. ccclv.)

2. In 1561 there appeared *El Moro Abindarráez y la bella Xarifa*, Toledo, por Miguel Ferrer, 1561, 12° (apparently anonymous). Pascual de Gayangos, in *Libros de Caballerías* (B. A. E., V. 40, p. lxxvii), states that he has seen a copy of 1561. "El ejemplar aquí citado pertenece al general San Roman." He also states that he has seen, but does not remember where, another edition of the same book in 4° without indication of place or date, but apparently anterior to both the *Diana* and the *Inventario* of Villegas. B. J. Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca de libros raros y curiosos* (V. I, col. 357), dates the book 1562.

Since the edition of the *Diana* in which the Abindarráez story first appeared was the Valladolid edition, the printing of which was finished on January 7, 1562, it is clear that the book printed by Ferrer preceded the *Diana* by about one year, as well as the first edition of Villegas' *Inventario* by about four years. In view of the importance which the Ferrer version possesses, it is astonishing that scholars seem never to have made an attempt at discovering a copy of this book, of which Gayangos saw two different editions. Any effort at determining the relative influences of the several existing versions ought to be preceded by the investigation of all texts that are known to exist.

3. Lope de Vega, in his introduction to his play, *El Remedio en la Desdicha*, states that his play is based not only on the *Diana*, but that the historical truth of the incident is testified by the *Corónicas de Castilla*. He uses the word in the plural, and does not seem to refer to only the *Parte de la Corónica*. He says:

"Escribió la historia de Jarifa y Abindarráez, Montemayor, autor de la Diana, aficionado a nuestra lengua, . . . de su prosa, tan celebrada entonces, saqué yo esta comedia en mis tiernos años. Allí pudiérades saber este suceso, que nos calificaron por verdadero las *Corónicas de Castilla* en las conquistas del reino de Granada; . . ."

It is sure that he knew some other versions besides that of the *Diana* since he interpolates as a sub-plot the love of Rodrigo de Narvaez for Alara, which occurs in Villegas' *Inventario* and may have existed in other lost versions.

4. The versions appearing towards the end of the sixteenth century should not have been disdained but studied with reference to their sources, for they may go back to some lost form of the Abindarráez tale. Such are: (a) The poem by Francisco Balbi de Correggio, *Historia de los amores del valeroso moro Abinde-Arraez y de la hermosa Xarifa*, Milano, 1593. (b) An hitherto unnoticed early French version found in Pierre Davity, *Les Travaux sans Travail*, 1599, which seems to vary considerably from any known Spanish texts and to which I intend to call attention soon in a separate article.

From all this it results that we may assume that this popular story of the gallant Moor and the beautiful Jarifa had been told and retold in many more different and yet closely related versions, a few of which have survived, but many of which are lost. We manifestly stand before a long chain of similar versions, among which it is both dangerous and unjustified to single out two or three, merely on the grounds that they are the only ones preserved or seen by critics. And the fact that all those versions show an unmistakable family air, that even entire paragraphs may be found similar in any of them, is not a sufficient proof to derive the one from the other on a chronological basis. The parallel column, which is an excellent method for proving the derivation of more individual literary works, loses its conclusive force when confronted with a number of impersonal texts reproducing indiscriminately a generally known story. Until this entire complex problem is again investigated with reference to all existing documents, it seems premature to come to any final conclusions as to the relationship of the versions studied until now. It is also desirable that scholars should approach this problem without being hypnotized by the Ticknor theory of the derivation of the *Diana* version from Villegas' *Inventario*, which was manifestly based on incomplete documentation.

Finally, I may be allowed to point out that there are in Dr. Deferrari's thesis a number of errors of documentation and serious negligences. A few instances: (1) On p. 39, note, the article: *Une Édition mal connue et incomplète de l'Histoire de Abencerraje* (*Bulletin Hispanique*, XXV, 1923, pp. 172-173) is not by H. Mérimée, but merely refers to his study in the same periodical (XXI, 1919, pp. 143-166). (2) The volume *El Moro Abindarráez y la bella Xarifa*, Toledo, Miguel Ferrer, 1562 (? 1561), is not "mentioned only on the authority of Gallardo," for, as pointed out above, two different editions of this work had been seen by Pascual de Gayangos. (3) On p. 40, Dr. Deferrari assures us that "Henri Mérimée who accepts the opinion of Menéndez y Pelayo" believes that the *Diana* version is derived directly from the *Inventario*. But it is astonishing to note that Henri Mérimée defended at length the opposite opinion from that of Menéndez y Pelayo (*Bulletin Hispanique*, XXI, p. 145) and argues that both the *Inventario* and the *Diana* were independently derived from the *Parte de la Corónica*.

The principal contribution of Dr. Deferrari's thesis consists in his pointing out that the Moor of romance was closer to reality than scholars accept. But he has not added much of value to the Abindarráez and Jarifa problem, or to the history of the *novela hispano-morisca*, since he has failed to perceive even the implications of his own arguments.

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E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain*, London, Sidgwick & Jackson, 1927, pp. 300.
10 s. 6 d.

Composed largely before the appearance of the late J. D. Bruce's work on *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, the present book pursues very much the same aim, though of course on a more limited subject. As a handbook designed for a general reader, it is more concerned with the presentation of well ascertained facts than with the discussion of theories, at least so far as it is possible with this type of material.

The reviewer frankly admits that he attributes greater importance to Celtic and folklore elements than the author does. To give an example, the case for a survival of Celtic myth in Chrétien's *Chevalier de la Charrette* (p. 213) is decidedly understated. Yet on the whole the author's views are so fairly and impartially presented and with such a conspicuous absence of dogmatism that there is little room for disagreement. For example, he concedes that there is a fair possibility that Geoffroy's *Liber* is no mere invention; the influx of Goideic material into Welsh literature is frankly admitted. The existence of nature myth at the root of Arthurian romance is postulated, though I for one am sceptical about the proposed identification of Kei and Bedwyr with the moon and the lightning (p. 74). When on p. 95 we find the statement that "Merlin seems to have been wholly a creation of Geoffroy's active brain," I must side with the author against those Celts who see in Merlin a figure of the Ancient Celtic Olympus. But it might have been well to add that if Merlin owes much to Geoffroy, he yet does not owe to him everything; for his legend was clearly elaborated by more than one man. The appreciation of Chrétien de Troyes and his work is fair and to the point. The frequent "doubling" of motifs in Arthurian romance is pointed out, and few will contest the statement (p. 166): "The tragic loves of Lancelot and Guinevere have clearly been modelled upon those of Tristan and Isolt." It is a good thing that the interrelationship between the Arthurian and Carolingian cycles is again brought to the fore. The reviewer is under the impression that the last word has not yet been said on this subject. For example, in the case of the *Voyage de Charlemagne* (p. 217), it is the Celtic material which seems to have influenced the *chanson de geste*, not vice versa, as the author supposes.¹ What should be noted also is the fact that the incest motif and Mordred's birth has a parallel in the Charlemagne cycle, where, according to some texts (though not the earliest, to be sure), Roland is the offspring of a similar reprehensible union. Exactly why Layamon, in introducing the elves at the birth of Arthur, should have drawn on Teutonic rather than Celtic folklore (p. 106) is not clear; the feature reflects a well-nigh universal belief and was unquestionably current among the mediaeval Celts as among the Teutons, Italians and Byzantine Greeks.

There is a conscientious utilization of the very latest results of Arthurian re-

¹ It may be of interest to the readers of this review to know that Mrs. Laura Hibbard Loomis is working on precisely this problem.

search and the periodical literature, even when the author does not accept the particular views set forth there. Hence only two additions, one of still more recent date, may be mentioned: On the sculpture of Modena (p. 134 and 151), see now R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* (1927); on the leafing tree and its probable ritual origin, cf. *Revue Hispanique*, LVI, 265-84.

The exposition is followed by a reprint of "records," i.e., mediaeval Latin documents bearing on the story of Arthur (arranged in chronological order), a good bibliography, and a subject index.

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V. L. Dedecek, *Étude littéraire et linguistique de "Li Histore de Julius Cesar" de Jehan de Tuim*, Philadelphia, 1925, 132 pp.

The author has chosen Jehan de Tuim's *Histore de Julius Cesar* as a typical translation of the thirteenth century. In it one may note the methods of the translator, his disregard for that which he considers of no value to his age, and his tendency to introduce that which conforms to the taste of his contemporaries.

In the chapter the "Literary Sources of Li Histore," Dr. Dedecek first treats the destructive work of Jehan. Parallel passages of the original, the *Pharsalia* of Lucan and the translation show the freedom of Jehan's version. The differences between the two are cited book by book. In his rendering of Lucan's work, Jehan has eliminated anything that savors of the miraculous or the supernatural, many mythological and historical allusions as well as those of a geographical and astrological nature; he has suppressed entirely the Lucan doctrine of Liberty and Country; he has destroyed the poetry of the *Pharsalia* by omitting any appeal to the emotions and by disregarding the Latin poet's metaphors; he has also abridged the original in one place, in another paraphrased or filled in by drawing from other Latin sources. But it is the ethical differences that contribute most to this destructive work. Jehan's own personality appears to such an extent that we feel not only that we are not reading Lucan, but that we are not even reading the translation of an ancient work.

The departures from the original of the other sources, *Bellum civilem*, *Bellum Africanum*, *Bellum Hispaniense* are not as marked, but here, too, *Li Histore* is a free imitation, not a translation.

Jehan is constructive as well as destructive. He has imbued his translation with an intense admiration for Cæsar. In so doing he has followed the tendency of his time, but he has utterly disregarded the spirit of the *Pharsalia* which is anti-Cæsarean. He further adapts his work to his own day by giving it the local color of the thirteenth century. The army is a feudal army; Rome is represented as a great seigniory. Jehan's descriptions of the conflicts and his insertion of the *Roman d'Amour* of Cæsar and Cleopatra have much to do with this change in local color. In the first, his battles are tourneys and are related after the manner of the *chanson de geste*. In the second, he offers greatest proof of his independence. He has followed the traditional formula, but there is freshness and originality in his elaboration of the well known themes of courtly love, and he has given a vivid portrait of Cleopatra's beauty.

With his age, John has a tendency to moralize, to be didactic, a fondness for cataloging the vices and virtues; and he finds many opportunities to insert such passages.

Jehan considered himself a historian, and rightly so. For, while he embellishes

history he does not distort it. Dr. Dedecek does not agree with Settagast who believes that Jehan has in mind the author of *Les Faits des Romains* when he contradicts certain statements of the *Maitres d'Orléans*. An examination of *Les Faits* proves its anonymous author the more faithful translator of the two. He has also succeeded better than Jehan in catching the spirit of the *Pharsalia*.

The following chapters contain the scanty knowledge available of the author and his life, comments on his style which is that of the *roman courtois*, and certain reservations in regard to the work as a whole. The addition of the second part, which does not derive from Lucan, was evidently not in the original intention of Jehan, and destroys the balance of the work.

In the last chapter, Dr. Dedecek examines the language of Jehan. He compares it with the characteristic traits of the language of Namur as given in M. Wilmette's *Étude de dialectologie wallonne*. The result shows that the Walloon dialect is well conserved in *Li Histoire*. Further comparison with the data concerning the dialect of Picardy, found in Suchier's *Aucassin et Nicolette*, reveals a strong influence from that quarter. The traces of these dialectic traits would be sufficient to place Jehan in his native district, did we not already know that he was a native of Thoun, in Hainaut, not far from Namur.

The treatise concludes with the listing of certain graphic and orthographic peculiarities, and with observations on those words of Jehan's vocabulary which offer some difficulty.

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Ira O. Wade, *The "Philosophe" in the French Drama of the Eighteenth Century*, Princeton, N. J., 1926, xi + 136 pp.

The only play on the *Philosophe* which now obtains passing mention in our manuals of literary history is Palissot's *Les Philosophes*, 1760, in which a disciple of Rousseau appears on the stage, crawling on all fours and nibbling at a cabbage leaf, in order to illustrate "the return to nature." But bibliographers and students of the French stage did know, of course, that these caricatures of eighteenth century *Philosophes* were but copies of a series, the only survivors of several generations of stage philosophers, who were represented either as the saviors or as the destroyers of society and of "le genre humain." In the dissertation here discussed Dr. Wade has classified the several types of *Philosophes* who declaimed on the eighteenth century French stage, in order to determine the several fluctuating connotations of the term *Philosophe*. They were almost stock-characters, mouth-pieces for propaganda rather than individuals. According to the prejudices or the beliefs of the playwright, they were depicted either as masquerading scoundrels bent upon the destruction of the moral code for their own advantage, or as grandiloquent and pedantic fools easily ensnared by any clever woman, or as the torch-bearers of the human intellect, persecuted like their patron-saint Socrates, etc.

Dr. Wade has selected fifty-one plays as especially significant for his subject. Some of them had been studied before, especially by Delafarge in his *Palissot*, by J. Desnoiresterres in his *La Comédie Satirique au XVIII^e Siècle*, by Boyse, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites*, by A. Pons, *J. J. Rousseau et le Théâtre*, etc. The initial stage attack against the *Philosophe*, Dr. Wade points out, was made by the Jesuits. In 1696 already was acted Father Lejay's *Damocles, sive philosophus regnans, drama*, printed in 1703, translated into French in 1728; while Father Du Cerceau's *Le Philosophe à*

la Mode, 1720, is another important play criticising "philosophic" principles at the very moment of Voltaire's debut. The attack it made on the followers of Bayle and Fontenelle was repeated later in a very similar way on the disciples of Helvetius and Rousseau.

In his chapter III, *Criticism of Individuals*, Dr. Wade's thesis shows some gaps in its documentation: He has, for instance, made no use of an amusing scene against J. J. Rousseau which appeared in *La Parodie au Parnasse* by Favart. J. J. Rousseau is there disguised as the "philosophe Diogène," who, with a lantern, searches in full daylight for a Man. The authorship of the scene, which dates from before 1759 (before Palissot's *Les Philosophes*), was disavowed by Favart, in the *Préface* of the 1763 edition of his works (I, XXVI). The early form of the play, entitled *La Barrière du Parnasse ou la Muse Chansonnière* has been preserved in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

It is also to be regretted that Dr. Wade has not seen the playlet against Rousseau entitled *Le Sauvage hors de Condition. Tragédie Allegorico-Barbaresque* (1 act, verse). He knows it only by title through the mention made of it by Soleinne (Nos. 2002, 2797) and in Desnoiresterres, *La Comédie Satirique au 18^e Siècle* (p. 10), who, in his turn, had never consulted it, but found it mentioned by the Chevalier de Mouhy (*Abbrégé de l'Hist. du Th. fr.*, 1780, I, 432). Since this playlet seems to have become "introuvable," although Soleinne possessed two copies of it, I give here some information concerning it: It is a kind of double parody-burlesque, directed at the same time against Rousseau and the classic tragedy. It ought to be dated 1763, rather than 1764, since the facts of Rousseau's life it alludes to relate to the time of his abdication of his title of Citizen of Geneva (May 12, 1763). Rousseau disguised as Pancrace, *philosophe antropophage*, sleeps in a cavern near Neuchatel. This refers, of course, to his sojourn in the village of Motiers in the Val-de-Travers. During his sleep Helvéticos, a senator of Neuchatel, and Emilius, Pancrace's son, meet at the cavern and discuss ironically Rousseau's theories and his unhappy fate. Rousseau awakens, boasts of his virtue and proposes, in short, the abolition of civilisation, of France and the human race. He parodies the dream scene from *Athalie* and is confronted in his madness by the shade of his daughter, Julia, who dictates to him his letter of abdication of his title as citizen of Geneva. She reappears to inform Rousseau that his resignation has been gladly accepted and is drawn with Emilius into the limbo of misconceived book-characters, leaving Rousseau alone on the stage, as a glorious and solitary giant, to curse his fatherland, and France and the whole world—except the Caribee savages—and to announce that he is going to live on the North Pole, clad in furs made of the skins of civilised Frenchmen. The playlet, filled with rather obscure allusions to contemporary events and persons, refers to Rousseau's "bastards" and may well give the earliest printed reference to his children.

A less explainable omission in Dr. Wade's thesis is Cailleau's *Osauraeus ou le nouvel Abaillard*, printed in 1761. The title *Osauraeus* is an anagram of Rousseau's name, and the play had been referred to by Desnoiresterres, *La Comédie Satirique* (p. 137), and Musset-Patay, *Hist. de la Vie et des Ouvrages de Rousseau* (I, 229–30). It claims that *La Nouvelle Héloïse* is an autobiographical work, and that it stages real events from the life of Rousseau, who appears as Osauraeus all through the play.

Moreover, there appeared before 1800 a number of anecdotal acts or *vauDEVILLES* on the lives of outstanding *Philosophes*, who, in general, were idealized as latter-day saints. Dr. Wade, to complete his work, might have added a chapter on the *idealized philosophes*. These plays constituted far more effective replies to the ones who de-

picted them as a gang of wreckers of the social fabric and of all morality than the feeble defenses of Cailleau or de Sauvigny about 1760-1770. I quote here a few titles for Rousseau alone: *L'Ombre de J. J. Rousseau*, 1787; M. Bouilly, *J. J. Rousseau à ses derniers moments*, 1790; Andrieux, *L'Enfance de J. J. Rousseau*, 1794; Dusausoir, *La Fête de J. J. Rousseau*, An III; Piis, Barré, Radet and Desfontaines, *La Vallée de Montmorency, ou J. J. Rousseau à l'Ermilage*, An VI; Aude, *J. J. Rousseau au Paraclet*; and a number of others, dealing with his theories or separate works, or published after 1800, such as N. G. Léonard, *Émile*, or Édouard, *J. J. Rousseau ou une Journée d'Ermenonville*, 1813.

Notwithstanding the fact that its documentation is here and there incomplete, Dr. Wade's dissertation remains very useful because it has organized carefully a mass of hitherto confused material. His classifications may seem somewhat stiff and statistical, but they help much to clarify one of the most interesting aspects of the eighteenth century stage: the battle raging around the value of the *Philosophe* as leader and moralist.

Memoirs of Léon Daudet, edited and translated by Arthur Kingsland Griggs, New York, The Dial Press, 1926, ix + 310 pp.

The duels, conspiracies, imprisonments and domestic tragedies of Léon Daudet, this turbulent *enfant terrible* of French literature and politics, have kept his name before the public for years. He has acquired international notoriety as the most clamorous clarion in the regiments of the *Camelots du Roy*, who, for the salvation of France, aim at destroying the Republic in order to reestablish on his ancestral throne His Majesty Philip X, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre. He is a pamphleteer, a rough and ready swashbuckler, a gifted and sincere partisan who finds his daily delight in the slaughter of his numerous opponents. Yet, it may well be that Léon Daudet is the kind of partisan which the Lord in his wrath sends to those He wants to castigate. A legion of enemies could do less harm to the cause of the King, of Order, of Intelligence, than the war-whoops, the scalp-dances, the thundering invective of Daudet against, let us say, the whole of the Nineteenth century, in his *Le Stupide XIX^e Siècle*. His pugnacious defense of Royalism and Nobility has some of the rather plebeian flavor that distinguishes H. L. Mencken's defenses of Aristocracy in America.

With him "la verve du Midi" triumphs over any balanced critical judgment. He classifies Hugo among the "imbéciles grandiloquents" because his politics displease him. He tries to cover every one of his enemies with a terrifying epithet, that, like a tombstone, lays him out for ever: *Edmond Rostand*: "that voluble and ingenious versifier, who extracts rhymes as vigorously as though he were pulling teeth, that insufferable neurasthenic, perched on the running board of Barnum's car"; *Catulle Mendès*: "This Semitic refugee from Sodom was extremely shrewd in spite of his romantic appearance"; *Ibsen*: "that combination of a Schopenhauer and beer-garden hell-cat"; *R. de Gourmont*: "the absurd logician," who belongs among the "symbol-ghettoists"; *Jean Aicard*: "the most despicable, dullest, vainest of all poets who cannot write poetry"; *Arthur Meyer*: "That worm of an Arthur Meyer, Prince of Cowards"; *R. de Montesquiou*: "a ridiculous male blue-stocking"; *P. Deroulède*: "a specimen of a brainless generation." We are informed that Zola, "the scavenger of Medan," "the epic swine," "hid under his bed when there was a thunderstorm" or that "Hugo was a thorough-going domestic tyrant, an out-and-out egoist, a combination of the avarice of Harpagon and the hypocrisy of Tartuffe,

always finding some excellent excuse for his own severity or sensuality," etc., etc. He has towards celebrities or near-celebrities the disrespectful attitude of a Parisian street-urchin; he has an irresistible gift of mimicry, of caricaturing men of note at their worst. This inborn gift of parody was, no doubt, fostered by the gossip in his father's drawing room. Nothing is ever as ferocious and unjust as the opinions of envious and quarrelsome men of letters and critics about the respective merits of their colleagues. The cultivation of the "finer feelings" and of the "deeper thought" seems to be accompanied in too many cases by a withering of all generosity and even of simple justice towards an "adversary" whose major crime consists generally in having some traces of talent. In any case, in his father's *salon* he has learned not to be impressed by "reputations," to look upon great men as upon great actors, frequently little else than "solemn humbugs." He oftentimes espoused his father's quarrels, as, f. i., in his vitriolic attacks on Zola. The jealousy of Alphonse Daudet about Zola's success made him one of the instigators of the *Manifeste des Cinq* against Naturalism, which was composed in his house.¹

Already in 1889 the Goncourt brothers, who were among Alphonse Daudet's regular visitors, noted about his turbulent son: "Il m'étonne ce grand gamin, par ce mélange chez lui de fumisteries inférieures, de batailles avec les cochers de fiacre, et en même temps par sa fréquentation intellectuelle des hauts penseurs et ses originales rédactions sur la vie médicale" (*Journal*, 16 mai 1889). From his father, who exposed the fundamental charlatany of his *Tartarin*, Léon Daudet seems to have inherited an aptitude for perceiving the odious and the ridiculous and for seeing it in an antagonist in monstrous proportions. When one of his enemies is blessed with big and flexible hands, they become to him heavy, hairy claws—grasping, strangling claws. Then the man fades into the background; the light, like in a moving-picture, concentrates upon those immense and murderous claws, which now symbolize an unscrupulous, perfidious traitor. In criticism Léon Daudet's mental processes are nearly always analogous to this creation of the "revealing claw." He seizes upon one or two defects of a celebrity and magnifies them until they become distorted symbols of the whole man.

Although he has filled volume after volume with the narration of his many hatreds, he does not really belong in the ranks of the great pamphleteers. There always clings to his constant and somewhat monotonous vociferation a faint suspicion of a *gasconnade*—of a *Rodemontade* as one said at the time of the *Roi-Soleil*. He assures us that he "loathes the sensational" (p. 284), and yet he seems to be constantly writing glaring and uproarious editorials for a partisan paper. Even his eulogies—for he has his loyalties—are only prevented from being more explosively laudatory by the fact that the French language has but a limited supply of superlatives. He likes Paul Claudel—and I have no quarrel with him on that score—but he expresses his veneration in his customary unbridled way: "the great, invincible, one and only poet of our day is Paul Claudel." François de Curel is "the greatest of our contemporary playwrights"; Charles Maurras is a "political genius," the "greatest of all leaders," a "genuine statesman," "the most complete and most powerful" personality he ever encountered, "a fiery, inextinguishable furnace, he emits ten thousand times as much light and heat as we can bring him in fuel," etc.

He praises without reserve and condemns without justice. Yet—is this another trick of the Imp of the perverse?—I like to read his impulsive, slangy, picturesque, blustering attacks much the same way I like Daumier's caricatures. Seen from this

¹ M. Le Blond, *Le Manifeste des Cinq et "La Terre,"* in *Les Marges*, 15 sept. 1921.

side of the Atlantic his noisy Punch and Judy show of modern letters and politics is quite entertaining: celebrities appear for a moment, disguised and caricatured; Polichinelle-Daudet gives each one of them one rakish blow with his bat and they disappear below the stage, into the Inferno of lost reputations. . . . His real shortcoming, however, lies in his superficiality: whether he admires or loathes a man of letters (for there seems to be for him no other alternative), his understanding of him remains *à fleur de peau*. He has but a shaky grasp on ideas and his misjudgment of men is matched by a too ready misunderstanding of intellectual currents. He believes, f. i., that Nietzsche's masterpiece is *The Case of Wagner*. Why? Because this pamphlet furnishes Daudet with arguments against the French admirers of Wagner's music. He never equals the superb, apocalyptic invective of Léon Bloy; he has too little depth, too much flourish on the surface. The vehement expression of his numerous prejudices is strangely combined with his profession of "sincere christianity" (p. 304). Without giving lessons in morality, I may be allowed to point out that Daudet "loves all his neighbors," except Jews, Socialists, materialists, Republicans, feminists, Germans, bourgeois, foreigners, most modern artists and authors, all romantic poets, all internationalists and pacifists, and a host of others. His universal love bears a strange resemblance to the murdering instinct that is so natural to the human brotherhood.

The Goncourt brothers (*Journal*, 8 mai 1887) mention that Daudet, the father, spoke to them about the frightful "colères des Daudet, légendaires dans le midi." He believed that there remained in his family some traces of a "race Sarrasine," of an oriental cruelty. Is this "grande colère des Daudet," as much as Maurras' politics, at the origin of that Reign of Terror in literature, that *jeu de massacre*, which Léon Daudet practises with such an unrelenting zest and zeal?

H. Girard et H. Moncel, *Pour et contre le Romantisme, Bibliographie des travaux publiés de 1914 à 1926. Préface de Fernand Baldensperger. (Études françaises fondées sur l'initiative de la Société des Professeurs français en Amérique. Onzième Cahier)*, 1927, 93 pp.

Nothing could be more useful in the midst of the actual clamorous battle for and against Romanticism than a complete or, rather, a very comprehensive survey of the documents, the articles, studies, pamphlets in which the Romantics have been either exposed as perverters of art and morals or acclaimed as the restorers of the deeper life of the soul, of religion and of lyricism in poetry. The Centenary of Romanticism has been the welcome moment for the publication of a great number of studies or indictments, and it becomes increasingly difficult to get a survey even of the production of one decade. H. Girard and H. Moncel have undertaken this bibliographical task for the period 1914-1926. They have listed 551 titles, but their compilation is far from complete. For lack of space I do not intend to give here any exhaustive list of its *lacune*, but merely to point out that American scholars will be astonished to miss in this list such a well-known book as I. Babbitt, *Rousseau and Romanticism*, 1919. We may agree or disagree with the theories defended in this volume, but it remains a significant document of the anti-Romantic current, far more weighty than, e.g., Léon Daudet's weak, if vociferous, diatribe, *Le Stupide XIX^e Siècle. Exposé des insanités meurtrières qui se sont abattues sur la France depuis cent trente ans*, 1923, which has been listed. It is also to be regretted that Professor Lovejoy's fundamental and perspicacious study, *The Discrimination of Romantics*, in *P.M.L.A.*, June, 1924, has been omitted. This study is as important as a point of departure as the

best that the Abbé Brémont ever wrote on the subject, and it has the additional advantage of not taking refuge in any mystical vagueness, but of fighting the battle about Romanticism on the very grounds chosen by its adversaries. These two titles are merely used as examples. In general, work of foreign scholars, however significant, has remained unknown to the compilers of this bibliography. None of the books or studies of George Havens are listed, although some appeared in the *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire*. A still less justifiable omission is that of all the publications of Albert Schinz, whose studies on Rousseau ought to have been cited. It would not be a difficult task to compile pages of titles lacking in this bibliography. I note, as an example, that a work on Paul Valéry is included but that C. Spietsma, *Louis Bertrand (1807-1841)*, and Louis Bertrand, *La Volupté et Pièces diverses*, edited by the same critic, 1926, have been omitted. Yet, is the author of *Gaspard de la Nuit* not more characteristically Romantic than the intellectualist Valéry? The fourth division, *Post-Romantisme*, containing but 72 titles, attempts to list the whole of the so-called (and frequently doubtful or undemonstrated) Romantic influence upon Realism, Naturalism and Symbolism. It is obviously incomplete and unsatisfactory, and it might have been preferable to omit this section entirely rather than to glide over it so superficially. A number of important French books, neglected in this bibliographical list, could be pointed out; for instance, Louis Reynaud, *Le Romantisme. Ses Origines anglo-allemandes*, 1925; Renée de Brimont, *L'Album de Saint-Point, ou Lamartine fantaisiste*, 1923; W. Folkierski, *Entre le Classicisme et le Romantisme*, 1925; M. Gauchez, *Romantiques d'Aujourd'hui*, 1924; etc.

The bibliographers classify Rémy de Gourmont among the Post-Romantics. Yet, they give only one work on him as having appeared from 1914 to 1926: Jean de Gourmont, *Souvenirs sur Rémy*, 1920, printed for private distribution. Among those they do not list are the *Journal intime et inédit de feu Rémy de Gourmont recueilli par son frère*, 1923; André de Ridder, *Rémy de Gourmont* (1919?); J. de Gourmont and Robert Delle Donne, *Bibliographie des Œuvres de R. de G.*, 1922; M. R. Crawford, *The Freeman's Morals, a Critique of the Philosophy of R. de G.*, 1926; A. Le Grand, *R. de G. Son Œuvre*, 1925, etc.—not to mention a number of articles, both French and foreign. This bibliographical survey is, then, an interesting collection of titles but not a complete or reliable guide.

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FRENCH LITERARY NEWS IN BRIEF

LÉGION D'HONNEUR: M. Paul Hazard was recently awarded the Légion d'Honneur. His biography is striking and worth recalling: he is associate editor of the *Revue de Littérature comparée* and has helped to inaugurate the study of that subject in France. He contributed for a very large part to the *Histoire de la Littérature française* published by him and Bédier; his *Vie de Stendhal* has caused quite a stir in Paris and, to crown it all, he is the youngest member of the Collège de France.—**ACADEMIES:** M. Louis Madelin was elected to the Académie Française; his opponents were Maurice de Fleury and Tristan Bernard. M. Madelin was born at Neufchâteau, in the Vosges, in 1871 and won early and brilliantly his university degrees, becoming a professor of history. His first work, a doctoral dissertation, marked him as a man of remarkable power, and his position was established in 1911 with his *Révolution française*. During the war he did his bit in the ranks as a mere sergeant and contributed to the organization of an information bureau. Meanwhile his pen did not

remain inactive, and he published a number of war accounts, some at the request of Foch himself. Among his works there are several about the Revolution, the Directoire and the Empire, and he is now putting the final touch to an *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire*. Besides being an historian of no mean order, he has been for some twenty years a collaborator to the *Revue des Deux-Mondes*. M. Jouvet, an eminent Egyptologist, was selected by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres to occupy the seat rendered vacant by the death of M. Enlart; and Sir James Frazer was elected to a foreign associate membership of the same academy.—LITERARY PRIZES: The *Grand Prix Littéraire de l'Algérie* for 1927 has been awarded to the book of Charles Courtin, *La Brousse qui mangea l'Homme*. This prize was created by the Gouvernement Général at the suggestion of the *Association des Écrivains algériens*, with the object of rewarding works dealing with that North African colony. The Lasserre prize was awarded at the close of the year to the poet Paul Fort. Marie Le Franc is the winner of the *Prix Femina*, for her book *Grand Louis l'Innocent*; she is a modest school teacher, living in Canada, daughter of humble Breton fisherfolk. Longing for other landscapes and things she left her native province some years ago and lived miserably in Canada, giving lessons and teaching school for a meagre subsistence. She wrote short stories and offered the present novel to a publisher some years ago who turned it down with the laconic comment, "ridicule," but a critic saw the manuscript and became interested in it, and thus it at last reached the public. The Renaudot prize was about to be awarded to Maurice Bedel, but when the jury learned that the same author had been selected by the Goncourt Academy, it gave its decision to Bernard Nabonne for *Maitena*. That story is a drama of peasant life in the province of Béarn and may be considered as regionalistic, though the author is a Parisian by birth, education and residence. Maurice Bedel secured the much desired Goncourt prize for that very entertaining fantasy *Jérôme 60° de latitude Nord*. Bedel is a young author with a very versatile personality; as a youth he made up his mind that he wanted to be a writer and that he was to thoroughly equip himself for it by studying medicine. While engaged in medical studies, he carried at the same time the full program as a student of letters at the Sorbonne, but during the war it was as a physician that he served, keeping his pen busy during moments of respite. He had also opportunities of travelling to Norway and related some of his impressions in the present novel, kneading together humorous fiction and realism. The prize novel has caused a great deal of controversy: some of the critics would have preferred to reward an author who had produced more, for *Jérôme* is the only novel of Bedel. His rivals were Marc Chadourne (author of *Vasco*, etc. . . .) and André Chamson (author of *Roux-le-Bandit*, etc. . . .).—SCHOLARSHIPS: The *Syndicat des Éditeurs* announced recently the creation of a scholarship for foreign travel for a young bookseller's clerk, in order to enable him to sojourn abroad in his professional capacity, an essential requirement being a fair knowledge of the foreign tongue of his choice.—OBITUARY: Gustave Simon passed away in January, having devoted his whole life to Victor Hugo and especially to the *Fondation Victor-Hugo*. He assumed the preparation and publication of numerous manuscripts of unpublished works or *variantes*. He was the author of a book about Mme. Victor Hugo entitled *La Vie d'une femme*. In February Jean de Gourmont, brother of Rémy de Gourmont, died. Besides several books of criticism and some literary essays, he published a novel *Toison d'or* and a collection of studies on women writers, *Les Muses*.—ANNIVERSARIES: Towards the close of last November admirers of Ferdinand Fabre, best known for his novel *Mon Oncle Célestin*, gathered in the little village of Languedoc

where he lived and wrote; they made a pilgrimage of the neighborhood, visiting those sites which form the landscape and background of most of Fabre's stories. December brought along a few anniversaries: fifty years ago, the death of Daudet; thirty years ago, the première of *Cyrano de Bergerac*, and of Porto-Riche's *Le Passé*. And 110 years earlier Lamartine mourned the death of Elvire and wrote his famous *Lac*. In February also occurred the anniversary of Jules Verne, who started life as a not very successful business man; at the age of thirty-five he declared his intention of giving up business and began to write. As much of what he had imagined has come true, his novels have lost much of their thrilling quality, but in France *Vingt mille lieues sous les mers* and *Le Tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours* are as popular as ever among the young. In the same month was held the anniversary of Edmond About. Whilst literary Russia is busy preparing numerous editions of Tolstoy's works, in connection with the anniversary of his birth, a French committee, presided over by M. Paul Boyer (administrator of l'École des Langues Orientales), is at work on the complete text of *Les quatre Livres de lecture*.—MEMORIAL TO LE BRAZ: Substantial subscriptions have been collected in several American cities where Le Braz resided, as well as in Brittany, in order to raise a monument to his memory. The model, by the sculptor Jean Boucher, is ready, and two Brittany towns are disputing the honor of receiving it; St. Brieuc, near which he was born and where he went to school, and Quimper, where he resided for fifteen years and composed most of his works.—FONDATION VICTOR-HUGO: Since the death of Gustave Simon deprived the *Fondation Victor-Hugo* of a president, a successor was elected, the poet Edmond Haraucourt. The chief object of the foundation is to ensure the activity of the Victor Hugo chair at the Sorbonne, and to aid and encourage the publication of documents about Hugo and his works.—HUGO DOCUMENTS: In February the Bibliothèque Nationale received all the papers and manuscripts of Victor Hugo, so that the Hugo collection is nearly complete except for a few documents, most of which are in the hands of M. Louis Barthou.—DRAMA: English and American plays have been produced in Paris in the fall: L'Atelier staged a play of Hermon Ould under the title *La Danse de la Vie*, while the Studio des Champs-Elysées presented *La Machine à calculer* by Elmer E. Rice. Le Théâtre des Mathurins gave a translation of Bernard Shaw under the title *La Maison des cœurs brisés*, Pitoëff being responsible for the staging and decoration. An adaptation by Bernard Zimmer of Aristophanes' *Birds* was produced at l'Atelier by Dullin. This production was not without its thrilling incidents, for at the Répétition Générale it had been decided that the doors would close punctually at the rising of the curtain at nine o'clock, and it was carried out. When the critics, including Professor Strowski, arrived a few minutes late they were unable to enter. As a body they refused to publish criticisms of Dullin's production. No better publicity could have been found, and no better means of avoiding unfavorable comments of M. Bernard Zimmer's arrangement of Mario Meunier's classical translation.—COMÉDIE FRANÇAISE: This institution was in a great turmoil recently over the appointment of new sociétaires. Three very good actresses, Mary Marquet, Marie Bell and Madeleine Renaud, who are only pensionnaires, that is to say, junior members, declared their intention of leaving the Français if they were not promoted to senior membership. A pensionnaire is promoted by the Minister of Education and Fine Arts upon the recommendation of sociétaires when a vacancy occurs at the death or retirement of such a member; and though a sociétaire is expected to retire after twenty years' service, he is frequently retained beyond that limit, e.g. de Féraudy, first appointed in 1887. Sociétaires enjoy

certain prerogatives: they receive a share of the profits, they control the choice and management of plays and the assignment of parts. The three sociétaires, rivals of the above-mentioned pensionnaires, are, therefore, not eager to help the promotion of the latter; and the Minister is in a problematic position, for it is evident that blame and censure will be his share whatever his decision may be.—MUSIC: There was recently produced in Paris at the Opéra Comique a new composition by Milhaud and Cocteau, based on a Canadian legend and renamed *Le Pauvre Matelot*. Darius Milhaud is now recognized as a religious poet-musician, of a decided Hebrew inspiration; his recent creation *Hymne de Sion* was performed at a Parisian concert, and it is rumored that the Zionist movement will adopt it as its national hymn. Honneger composed the music for an abridgment and rearrangement of the ancient tragedy of *Antigone* by Cocteau, and this lyrical drama was performed at the Théâtre de la Monnaie, in Brussels.—KNOWING PARIS: A series of visits of Paris and museum talks on art and decorative arts was initiated during the winter under the supervision of General Charles H. Sherrill; the lectures, delivered in English, are given by artists, craftsmen, critics or professional men in museums or workrooms. They had been intended at first for the resident students of New York University but proved to be so interesting that they soon attracted fashionable people from both the American colony and Parisian society. Professor Salomon Reinach, curator of the archeological museum of St.-Germain, gave the inaugural lecture on the growth of Paris.—LA CITÉ UNIVERSITAIRE: The Japanese House is now under way, its corner stone having been laid last October; reciprocally a Franco-Japanese House was opened last year in Tokio under the direction of M. Sylvain Lévy, of the Collège de France, its aim being to promote studies on the Far East as well as to develop relations between the two countries. The Belgian House was inaugurated last November by Prince Leopold, whereas the Swedish and Dutch Houses will be started this year.—ZOLA-GONCOURT: A great dispute arose a few weeks ago between the heirs of Zola and the Académie Goncourt on the following subject: At his death Edmond de Goncourt (survivor of his brother Jules) left a will by which were deposited in the Bibliothèque Nationale the famous *Journal* kept by the two brothers, and thirty boxes of correspondence exchanged with a large number of their contemporaries, among others Zola. Edmond stipulated that the diary should not be published until twenty years after his death and that the correspondence should be communicated at the same time. It is now over twenty years since he died and only fragments of the *Journal* have been published, for whenever the Académie is urged to bring it out, it is explained that, as many of the men criticized in it are still living, neither the diary nor the correspondence should be revealed to the general public. Now the heirs of Zola (his son, daughter, and son-in-law) are preparing a large and complete edition of their father's works and they insist on being given his correspondence deposited among the Goncourt papers. Their demand was met at first with a mere refusal; then the question went into discussion, for the heirs threatened to use all means within their power to obtain satisfaction. And if the Académie Goncourt had persisted it would have been faced with the necessity of obeying one of the clauses of the will, stipulating that in case of violation or non-observance of the various clauses, the moneys of the foundation must be turned over to a certain institution for blind girls. The dispute is now closed; the Académie has been prevailed upon by its legal adviser, former President Poincaré, and by the Minister of Public Instruction, to surrender the Zola correspondence.—LITERARY PUBLICATIONS: The publishing firm of Larousse is putting out a new collection of novels and short stories under the title

Contes et Romans pour tous, which will consist of two distinct series, one for youthful readers and one for their parents. The latter group was initiated with an illustrated edition of *Les Trois Mousquetaires*. The same firm is publishing in the form of fascicules in the *Collection in-4°* a book by M. Charles Cestre entitled *Les États-Unis*. Its author has made several visits to this country, and his book, richly illustrated, is intended to acquaint the French with the social and political life of the States independently of any political creed or bias. The monthly periodical known as *Les Passereaux* changed its name recently to *La Revue des Visages* and is henceforth going to devote part of each number to biography and bibliography of contemporary writers and artists. A Gascon-French dictionary is being published in Gascony by subscription, by the Imprimerie Cocheraux, 18 rue de Lorraine, Auch (Gers). Antoine published recently at Grasset's his *Souvenirs sur l'Odéon et le Théâtre Antoine*. The series *Roman des grandes existences* announces a *Vie de Jean Racine* by François Mauriac and has just issued *La Vie orageuse de Mirabeau*, by Henry de Jouvenel.

—LAMARTINE STUDIES: Under the title *Lamartine en Savoie* an admirer of the poet has just gathered and published those poems of Lamartine devoted to that country. PROVINCES:—ALSACE-LORRAINE. The problem of winning over the sympathy and goodwill of these provinces is a delicate one. Their inhabitants at all times have proclaimed their desire to be themselves, neither German nor French, and we remember the vehement discussions of our Alsatian schoolfathers (at a lycée of Eastern France) as far back as 1902-07, on that point. Many blunders, sadly regretted, have been made since the war by members of the Government, and attempts are now being made to redress them. The present school system provides that the children (who at home speak a Germanic dialect) shall be taught French when they enter school when about six years old; it is assumed that, within a year and a half or so, they have mastered the language sufficiently well to be taught all their subjects in French and commence the study of German. Henceforth they become bilingualists and learn their lessons in the two languages. It is hoped that this ability to use equally the two tongues will make for smoother political relations.—Visitors of the VILLES ROMAINES of Southern France will hear with interest of the building and opening of a small museum at La Turbie (a small village near and above Monaco). For some time excavations have been directed on the site of the monument called *le Trophée* built in honor of the Roman emperor Augustus after the conquest of various tribes of the Alps. Out of these excavations rose the little museum constructed with the very stones of the *Trophée*, and a book concerning this ancient monument will soon appear.

—BELGIUM: Mgr. Deploige, President of the Institut supérieur de Philosophie, died recently; in 1906 he succeeded Cardinal Mercier when the latter was called to the Archbishopric of Malines and was his faithful collaborator in the task of teaching scholasticism. Mgr. Deploige had been prepared for the bar, later taking holy orders and devoting his life to the work of the Institut de Philosophie. Among Belgian periodicals of recent creation are: *Livret*, whose object is to seek publishing material from non-professional writers; and *Échantillons*, whose motto is "Éclectisme." A literary group was formed also under the name of *Le Rouge et le Noir*, whose activity takes the form of debates on literary questions and chiefly aims at developing and invigorating Belgian letters.—CZECHOSLOVAKIA: Thanks to the activity of a group of men in Prague, French letters receive great encouragement; and especially noteworthy is the production of several plays, particularly *Le Donneur de Sang* by Luc Durtain (not yet performed in Paris) and another of Giraudoux, *Siegfried*.—GERMANY: Several French men of letters gave lectures in Berlin and

other cities during the course of the winter and were received with great enthusiasm, while Heinrich Mann was sojourning in Paris. This interchange of literary talents tends to prove once more that friendly intellectual relations are being re-established between the two countries.—ITALY: Things and scenery of France are attracting a number of Italian writers, among whom is Prezzolini, who is preparing a book on modern France.—NORWAY: The sixth International Historical Congress will take place at Oslo this coming August and will assemble historians from all countries for the first time since the war. Information about its program can be secured from the Comité des Sciences historiques, at the Institut de Coopération Intellectuelle, 2 rue Montpensier, Paris.—SPAIN: It is expected that the central building of the Casa Velázquez will be opened next fall, together with the interior gardens. The wings and other parts of the park will be built later on. The whole edifice and gardens are planned in French style, and the gardener of the Tuileries in Paris is in Madrid superintending the works.—SWITZERLAND: The novelist Ramuz was recently awarded the Gottfried Keller prize. The Théâtre Romand, directed by M. Jean-Bard, is at work producing a play called *Don Juan* whose author Georges Oltramarre was given the Schiller prize.—UNITED STATES: On November 5, Professor James Brown Scott, of Georgetown University, author of *Le Français, langue diplomatique*, was made a doctor *honoris causa* of the University of Paris. Professor Berthélémy, Dean of the Law School, delivered a speech in which he extolled the work of Professor Scott.

FRENCH BOOK NOTES

Jean Giraud, *L'École romantique française*.

This is a fresco full of movement and brillancy unfurling the history of French Romanticism. It begins with the timid innovations of the Nodier group and closes with the Romantic strains still to be found in Samain and Verhaeren. The great characters of this pageant stand out vividly: the portraits have life and vigor and temperaments are concretely depicted. Here is a good example: "Lamartine était un gentilhomme de campagne, aimant les chevaux et les chiens de chasse, un grand diable de Bourgogne, un vrai vigneron. Mais de son terroir il s'élevait sans effort jusque parmi les anges." Conciseness of form and sympathy of appreciation mark M. Giraud's criticism. This makes his little volume a clear and winning introduction to the "belle école."

Paul Brach, *La destinée du Comte Alfred de Vigny*.

The landmarks of this biography are Vigny's sentimental crises. In love Vigny sought the human complement he needed, and his imagination endowed the objects of his passion with whatever qualities they lacked. Naturally there came a time when illusion vanished, hence periods of depression and pessimism. These changes were not the evidence of fickleness: at each new adventure the poet felt that he had at last found the great love that would fill his heart. M. Brach has emphasized the psychological aspect of his topic but has not neglected the descriptive opportunities offered him: the laughter of Delphine Gay, the sneers of Mr. Bunbury, Lydia's plaintive voice and the sobs of Marie Dorval circumstantiate the phases of Vigny's disappointed life.

Alfred de Vigny, *Poésies complètes*.

This compact edition is provided with an introduction in which M. Henri de Régnier describes Vigny as a forerunner and an initiator of the new poetry, and also

as a disciple of the eighteenth century poets. He was a laborious writer, often obscure, but sporadically rising to a victorious clearness of expression. In preparing this volume, M. Bertrand Guégan has used the following editions: that of 1859 for the *Poèmes antiques*, that of 1864 for the *Destinées*, and that of 1822 for *Hélène*. The book contains eleven portraits and engravings of the Romantic period.

PHONETIC BOOK NOTES

H. van Daele, *Phonétique du français moderne*.

This pocket-size treatise of 100 pages is a *vade mecum* of the student of French phonetics. In spite of its apparent scantiness it offers a complete survey of French pronunciation. The subject matter is divided into two parts: 1) Isolated consonants, vowels, syllables, words and word stress; 2) grouped words and sentence stress. Each section is very concise. All complementary information not indispensable to the theoretical treatment of the topic at hand and pedagogical remarks are given in the foot-notes.

Charles Bruneau, *Manuel de phonétique*.

This text book embodies the experience of a teacher of phonetics to foreigners in the Nancy Summer Courses. For clearness and easy reference, only the essentials of French phonetics have been included, and all technical and scientific material deliberately omitted. This may be why questions of stress and intonation are merely touched upon in the last five pages of the volume. In fact the whole book is devoted to a study of consonants and vowels. A uniform method is followed in the treatment of each sound: 1) a description of the position of the vocal organs; 2) a list of words for practise; 3) remarks on the various difficulties experienced by foreigners in the pronunciation of the sound; 4) a list of the corresponding spellings, sometimes accompanied with historical notes. This part of the subject matter is emphasized.

H. Bargy et C. Gray, *Plan d'une expérience d'étude consciente de la prononciation française*.

The essentials of French phonetics have been grouped and arranged in a series of twelve lessons according to an original pedagogical progression based on three principles: 1) the language must be represented by a system of symbols independent of spelling, division into words and grammar; 2) the French accent, being the result of a psychological process, should be acquired through conscious efforts; 3) the disguise of the grammatical structure of the sentence makes it possible to emphasize some particular grammatical fact. The part played by musical imagination is constantly recalled, namely, the predominance of vowels in auditization and consequently in speech. The syntax of the ear is reduced to essential formulae and the morphology is subordinated to the syntax. The plan is carefully evolved, with a minimum supply of formulae, diagrams and comments.

P. Genévrier, *Précis de phonétique comparée française et anglaise*.

This study in comparative phonetics is a bold departure from puristic standards. The method is based on the fact that, if assimilation of a new language is rapid and unconscious among children, it is indeed slow and difficult among adults because of the inveterate speech habits created by the constant use of the mother tongue. Comparison should help the adult to identify his erroneous habits and make it possible for him to substitute consciously new and correct habits through persevering

practise. Such comparison, identification and correction will be greatly facilitated by reference to the systematic exposition of the subject matter in M. Genévrier's book. Students who will derive most profit from this method are those who already speak French rather well but are anxious to improve their pronunciation. Two comparative tables of vowels and consonants printed in red and black simplify the reference work of the student. There is also an excellent chapter on the duration of sounds and rhythm (58 pages). Finally a list of definitions of technical terms used in text books on phonetics further increases the usefulness of the volume.

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PAULE AND RENÉ VAILLANT

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

MAISON FRANÇAISE

Following is a list of receptions given by the *Maison Française*: October 4, in honor of M. Albert Feuillerat, Visiting Professor of English at Columbia University, and Mme. Feuillerat; Oct. 7, for la Commission d'Études pour la Cité Universitaire, whose members are M. André Honnorat, Sénateur, ancien Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, Président de la Commission; M. Auguste Desclos, Directeur-adjoint de l'Office National des Universités et Écoles Françaises; M. Lucien Bechmann, architecte; and M. Jean Branet, Conseiller d'État; Jan. 20, in honor of Madame Claire Boas de Jouvenel, Secrétaire Générale de la Bienvenue Française; Feb. 20, the Department of Romance Languages, the *Maison Française* and the Institut des Études Françaises gave a reception at the Faculty Club in honor of the French aviators, Captains Costes and Lebris; March 1, in honor of the French composer Maurice Ravel; March 13, the Société Française of Barnard College and the *Maison Française* entertained in Barnard Hall Mesdames Lucie Caffaret, pianist, and Denyse Bascourret, violinist.

BLANCHE PRENEZ,
Secretary

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

ITALIAN LITERARY NEWS IN BRIEF

Giovanni Papini has accepted the position of director of the *Raccolta Nazionale di Classici*, to be published by the *Rinascimento del Libro*, Florence. It is reported that many of the ablest writers of Italy will collaborate in this new collection.

Professor Alfredo Trombetti of the Royal University of Bologna, at a recent meeting of the committee for the Study of Etruscan Civilization, held in Florence, and presided over by Prof. Antonio Minto, announced the completion of a study on the Etruscan language. Prof. Trombetti stated that a study of Etruscan grammar offers a new field of investigation and a knowledge of the mysterious language of the people. It is reported that the study will be published in Florence in the spring.

That contemporary Italian literature is attracting world-wide attention is evident from the number of translations and original studies made in foreign languages. The following are only a few of the more recent and important ones: Pirandello's comedy *Vestire gli ignudi* was reviewed at length by Braz Buriti in *A Situação*, Lisbon, Nov. 15, 1927. An article on the dramatic works of Rosso di San Secondo appeared in the *Daily Mail*, Paris, Nov. 27, 1927. The second volume of Croce's *Poeti e Scrittori d'Italia* (Laterza), was reviewed in *The Observer*, London, Nov. 20, 1927. Articles on Gabriele D'Annunzio were published in the *Information*, Paris; *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Dec. 7, 1927; and in the *New York Times* of Dec. 9, 1927. In connection with the recent award of the Nobel Prize for Literature to the Sardinian writer Grazia Deledda, numerous articles appeared in many foreign language newspapers and literary reviews. The most recent novel of Deledda, *Annalena Bilsini*, was reviewed in the *Times Trade Supplement* of Dec. 1, 1927. A Dutch translation of Zuccoli's novel *Farfui* under the title *De Zonde der Vaderen* was reviewed in the *Telegraaf*, Amsterdam, Nov. 17, 1927. An Hungarian translation of G. Ferrero's *La Terza Roma* has been published. An American motion picture company has asked the author to adapt this novel for motion picture purposes. A German translation of G. A. Borgese's *Rubè* has been published by Merlin-Verlag of Heidelberg. The book contains a long introduction in which C. S. Gutkind studies the characteristics of Borgese's art. The book is reviewed in *Die Litterarische Welt*, Berlin, Dec. 9, 1927, and in *Börsen Courier*, Dec. 14, 1927. Borgese's short story *Miraggio* is translated in the Hungarian review, *Uj Idök*, Dec. 11, 1927; and *Bianca*, another short story by the same author, has been translated into German in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Nov. 29-30, 1927. A recent issue of *Der Querschnitt* contains a translation of *La Maschera Mobile* of A. G. Bragaglia. The *Frankfurter Zeitung* of Nov. 30, 1927, reviews the *Oceano del Cuore* by F. T. Marinetti. The comedy of Ferdinando Martini, *Chi sa il giuoco non l'insegna*, has been represented in Helsingfors under the auspices of the Instituto Italo-Finlandese. It is the first time that an Italian play has been produced in Finland. The cast was composed entirely of Finns.

One of the objects of the educational reforms enacted in Italy in 1923 by the Mussolini Government was to attract an increasing number of foreign students to the institutions of higher learning. That the plans of the Government have been successful is indicated in a recent report which points out that from a total of 414 foreign students in 1913-14 in Italian universities and higher institutes, the number decreased to 191 in 1918-19, but increased again to 370 in 1920-21. Since 1923 the number has greatly increased. The University of Padua alone had 60 foreign students in 1922-23, and 154 in 1923-24. The number of foreign students in the University of Rome in 1926-27 was 229. These students came from 34 different countries. The following countries had more than 10 students studying in Rome in 1926-27: Rumania (35), Hungary (20), Switzerland (19), Egypt (18), Jugoslavia (15), Poland (13), United States (12), and Brazil (12). The total number of students

in the University of Rome during the same academic year was 4626, distributed as follows: Law 1601; Political Science 162; Letters and Philosophy 424; Medicine 327; Science 844; Pharmacy 235; Auditors 33.

Three members of a committee representing the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace recently sailed for Rome, for the purpose of cataloguing the printed books of the Vatican Library. They are William Warner Bishop, Librarian of the University of Michigan; Charles Martel, Chief of the Cataloguing Division of the Library of Congress; and J. C. M. Hanson, Associate Director of the University of Chicago libraries. Dr. Bishop intends also to study the method of cataloguing the enormous collections of rare manuscripts and incunabula at the Vatican. The work is proceeding under the authority of the Pope and with the aid of the full staff of the Library.

H. R. MARRARO

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

ITALIAN BOOK NOTES

Grazia Deledda, *Annalena Bilsini*, Milano, Fratelli Treves, pp. 282 (L. 12).

Grazia Deledda received the Nobel prize just as she was completing this novel. This seems to be a timely honor to crown her achievements after years of toil and productiveness in her art. This novel, and this might be said of all her creations, is a vivid sketch of Deledda's country folk. Deledda's characters are all molded out of simplicity and local color rather than types fashioned from literary theories, strong passions, and psychological struggles. Deledda's country people must be handled with simplicity of language, of style, and of theme. This treatment makes up the high notes in Deledda's novels. Her folk knows its task—it plants and it hopes. It dominates its passions, and through its good sense attains a high moral standard. This rural type is excellently represented in *Anna Bilsini*, a character that stands in relief for honesty, devotion, and love for family and for soil. Her toil is endless. She plans for the well-being of her family, a clan consisting of sons, wives, grandchildren. Her task consists in guiding her brood through the hard winter. She teaches all that hope and victory rest in toil.

It seems that Deledda breathes into her characters her own simplicity and her sincerity of purpose. *Anna Bilsini* is a strong novel. It is the picture of the country in winter, where the snow is significant for the abundance that it shields under the soil. *Anna Bilsini*, the heroine, is the embodiment of fine motherhood in whom Deledda has placed something of her own modest personality—honest, hardworking, productive. There is a lesson to all Italian mothers in this novel—a lesson that teaches that upon them falls the responsibility of the upright guidance of their families.

Rosso di San Secondo, *Tra vestiti che ballano*, Milano, Fratelli Treves, pp. 141 (L. 9.90).

What does life offer to its poor marionettes oppressed by adversity, poisoned by impure passions? What puppet really learns to see life philosophically? What medium offers relief from this mad whirl? These are a few questions which are evoked in reading this play in three acts and an epilogue. These are not new questions by far; an intelligent reader would classify them as "bromides." Yet these are just the questions that offer a keynote to the general outline of the play. Rosso di San Secondo makes his heroine, Anna Orlova, live life under a dual nature—

the material and the spiritual. This material life, which in many respects is steeped in filth, becomes less and less real to Anna Orlova. In the end she is so intensely absorbed in her dream of a love which is beyond that she becomes immune, so to speak, to the squalor of the puppets that dance about her.

Indeed this is an old theme which has been overdone in literature. What then has Rosso di San Secondo contributed of literary value in this play? The value lies in the sympathetic treatment of the personality of the heroine. Life has dealt her a series of severe blows. In suffering she has learned her lesson in that rendering service to the afflicted about her makes her own existence impersonal and consequently devoid of mental torture. She surveys with tenderness the sorrow lot of human kind.

The epilogue closes with the most beautiful scene of the entire play. It is in this scene that Anna Orlova rises to the heights of a truly dramatic situation. She has just administered consolation to a tormented creature who sobs with relief from her suffering. Mingled with these sobs is heard the pandemonium of other beings—dancing puppets the best of them! As the curtain falls we perceive on the upturned face of Anna Orlova a beautiful expression: her dream lies beyond!

Dario Niccodemi, *La madonna*, Milano, Fratelli Treves (L. 9).

This play in three acts revolves about the belief that a mental picture, if it be deep-rooted, will in some way find its prototype in reality. Thus we find that the hero, Mario Acciardi, an artist, falls under the influence of the suggestive beauty of the painting of the *Madonna*. He builds about that beautiful face his ideal of a woman, and then hardly realizing it he attaches the fictitious qualities of the *Madonna* to a girl whose past is somewhat shady and questionable. This girl becomes the counterpart of the *Madonna*. Furthermore, the girl falls under the spell of Mario's idealistic love and so becomes purified.

The play as a whole does not possess power enough to convince the reader of the plausibility of the conversion of the fantastic element into the realistic. This theme has been exploited before to a greater advantage by other playwrights. The play, consequently, is just another one of the hundreds that are read, liked, and promptly discarded. However, this play does have a series of fascinating scenes, especially in the first act. The half-crazed artist before the image of the *Madonna* conjures up a weird and haunting picture. No play of Dario Niccodemi is dull in its entirety. The *Madonna* points to a dramatic climax in the last scene where the mother of the artist, contrary to the general expectation, totally approves the love of her son for the girl. The play in the main is enjoyable for its fantastic atmosphere and its smooth dialogue.

O. A. BONTEMPO

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

La Commedia dell'Arte: Storia. Tecnica. Scenari. A cura di Enzo Petraccone. Napoli, Riccardo Ricciardi, 1927, 40 lire.

Benedetto Croce, who writes the introduction to this useful volume, points out that it fills a need which no one of the many recent studies of its subject at all supplies, the need, that is, of accessible first-hand documents on Italian comedy. The young scholar, Enzo Petraccone, whose death in the war left this work to be seen through the press by Dr. Niccolà Nicolini, realizing this lack of source material, chose for publication the most important offered by Italian libraries. Carefully edited and beautifully printed, here are the famous passages about *comici* from Garzoni's *Piazza universale* (1585), some fuller selections from the little known *Frutti delle moderne comedie* by Pier Maria Cecchini (1628),—extremely interesting descriptions of how

the Masks should act their parts,—then follows Niccolò Barbieri's often quoted list of honors done to ancient and modern actors, from *La Supplica* (1634), his defense of his art and his answers to those who attacked it. Most of Luigi Riccoboni's preface to the *Histoire du Théâtre italien* (1727), is included, and, the most valuable part of the book for foreigners, 131 pages from Andrea Perucci's rare treatise, *Dell'arte rappresentativa* (1669). The ten *Brauure* by Francesco Andreini might have been fewer, for his works exist in several easily found editions and are of a tediousness which repels most readers. The other selections from the speeches of the Doctor, the explanations of *lazzi*, the prologs, *intermezzi* and dialogs, are, however, all helpful toward the understanding of the scenarios, twenty of which form the third part of the book. Five of these plot outlines are taken from Scala's familiar collection, four from the MS. by Basilio Locatelli in Rome, four from the Neapolitan MS. and the others from various sources.

Altogether this is an indispensable book for students of the theatre and not an uninteresting one for amateurs.

WINIFRED SMITH

VASSAR COLLEGE

ITALIAN HOUSE

H. E. Emilio Bodrero, Under-Secretary of State of the Ministry of Public Instruction, with the approval of the Italian Government, sent a printed circular letter to all the institutions of higher learning in Italy, dated Rome, January 20, 1928, calling attention to the importance of the cultural activities of the *Casa Italiana*, and inviting them to send congratulatory messages to the officers of that institution.

The letter is as follows:

"Per iniziativa tenace e fervida di alcuni cittadini italiani residenti in America è stata eretta presso la Columbia University di New York una CASA DI CULTURA ITALIANA, che rappresenta la maggiore promessa di un nuovo e più efficace orientamento della nostra penetrazione culturale nella grande Repubblica Americana.

"L'avvenimento ha un carattere di singolare importanza che non sfugge certamente alla S. V. Ill.ma. Per ciò appunto il Governo Nazionale confida che i più eminenti istituti di cultura del Regno vogliano far pervenire alla Presidenza della Casa Italiana, annessa alla maggiore Università degli Stati Uniti (che si intitola al nome di Cristoforo Colombo) un messaggio di adesione e di plauso che sia il premio della Patria lontana ai generosi connazionali cui si deve tanta opera di italicità e nuovo stimolo a rendere sempre più glorioso e rispettato il nome d'Italia nel mondo.

IL SOTTOSEGRETARIO DI STATO, Bodrero

"Le adesioni dovranno essere inviate a questo preciso indirizzo: Presidenza della Casa di Cultura Italiana presso la Columbia University, New York (Stati Uniti d'America)."

As a result of this letter the *Casa Italiana* during the past few weeks has received almost eighty messages from various Italian institutions of higher learning urging that American students going abroad visit Italy to study. A letter from the Royal Italian University for Foreigners established by Mussolini at Perugia, Italy, reads as follows:

"To Italians living in the United States: In the name of the great Italian navigator who gave the world a new continent, this Royal University sends warmest greetings in the hope that they, in their hospitable and noble country, will maintain the tradition of the fatherland, by promoting better understanding and amity between the two young and vigorous nations. (Signed) Astorre Lupatelli, President."

The following gifts have been received by the *Casa Italiana*: First, a bronze bust

of Enrico Caruso, the great Italian tenor. The bust was made by Gianni Viasora from a mould prepared by the Roman Bronze Works and donated to the *Casa* by Mr. Geo. Zabriskie. Second, an oil painting of Giuseppe Garibaldi, donated by Mrs. Thomas Nast. It will be remembered that Mr. Thomas Nast, the world-famous cartoonist, went to Italy during the war for the unification of Italy, and there became acquainted with Garibaldi. Mr. Nast himself remained with Garibaldi's legion for several months, during which time he had an opportunity to sketch the great leader on the field of battle. This sketch was later reproduced in an oil painting which Mrs. Nast has kindly presented to the *Casa Italiana* as the most fitting place for housing such a valuable portrait. Third, a gift from Professor Thomas H. Morgan of Columbia University of a vellum leaf measuring 24 by 16 inches from an Italian vellum choir book of the fourteenth century, staves of old notation in red and black on front and reverse including the beginning of service for the feast of St. John Baptist, headed by initial I in gold and colors enclosing miniatures of St. John and the emblematic lamb.

The furniture purchased by the Italian Government for the equipment of the principal rooms of the *Casa Italiana* was ordered from the Bruschi Company of Arezzo, Italy. According to the terms of the contract the furniture is to be consigned to the Government not later than March 25, 1928.

A recent announcement by President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University reveals that the Endowment Fund of the *Casa Italiana* was increased by \$3,341.37, representing the proceeds of a benefit dance held on the S.S. Conte Biancamano on Dec. 29, 1927.

The Italian Historical Society in cooperation with the Institute of Arts and Sciences of Columbia University, and with the Institute of Italian Culture, is holding on alternate Fridays a series of lectures on contemporary Italy in the *Casa Italiana*. The following lectures were given: Jan. 20, Dr. William S. Bainbridge, "New Italy"; Feb. 3, Mr. Henry J. Burchell, "The Rebirth of Imperial Rome"; Feb. 17, Count Ignazio Thaon Di Revel, "Fascism—The New Solution of the Social Problem"; March 2, Professor Herbert W. Schneider, "Italy—The Corporative State"; March 9, Mr. S. S. McClure, "Eighteen Months in Italy studying Fascism and Mussolini" (with motion pictures); March 16, Dr. James J. Walsh, "The Cultural Background of Modern Italy"; March 30, Mr. James P. Roe, "Is Fascist Italy a Menace to World Peace?"; April 27, Rt. Rev. Bishop Ernest M. Stires, "Italy under Mussolini." The series will be concluded by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the date of his lecture to be announced later.

The first of a series of lectures on Dante under the auspices of the Italy America Society was held in the *Casa Italiana* on Tuesday, February 21, at 11 a.m. Prof. Dino Bigongiari of Columbia University read the first canto of the *Purgatorio*.

The constant increase in the number of students registered in Italian courses is manifested in University Extension of Columbia University. The number of students registered in the various classes in the Spring Session of 1928 is 50 per cent more than it was during the corresponding period of 1927.

The Crocchio Goliardico, an organization of men and women students in University Extension and the Graduate Schools of Columbia University, gave a tea in the *Casa Italiana*, on Saturday, March 3, 1928, from 4 to 6, in honor of the Italian Consul-General, Comm. Emanuele Grazzi. Besides the members of the Italian Department, those present included Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of the Department of Indo-Iranian Languages, and Mrs. Jackson.

A tea was held in the *Casa Italiana* on February 14, from 4 to 6 p.m., for the faculty and students of Barnard College.

H. R. MARRARO

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

SPANISH BOOK NOTES

Johannes Dornhof, *Johann Nikolaus Böhl von Faber, ein Vorkämpfer der Romantik in Spanien*, Hamburg, Seminar für romanische Sprachen und Kultur (*Mitteilungen und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der romanischen Philologie*, VII), 1925, viii + 46 pp.

In his own person Johann Nikolaus Böhl experienced that change of mood from rationalism to Romanticism which was to distinguish the generation which followed him from that to which he belonged. Dr. Dornhof discovers the influences which brought about this change in his point of view by examining his letters to his former teacher, J. H. Campe. He finds Böhl to have had an inherently emotional nature which because of a strictly rationalistic education found expression only in his love of music and in his interest in religious problems. It was due to his preoccupation with religious questions that Böhl became a Romanticist. The story of his gradual acceptance of the Romantic point of view is the story of his conversion from deism to the Catholic faith. Dr. Dornhof emphasizes the intellectual influences which led him to this course: his dissatisfaction with Andreas Riems' treatise on *Christus und die Vernunft*, and his study of the German and Spanish mystics. He perhaps underestimates the persuasive force of Böhl's desire for more complete harmony in his family relationships, of his intercourse with Dr. Julius, and of the influential examples of Count Stolberg, Werner, Schlegel and other prominent Romanticists.

The form which Böhl's Romanticism assumed was, like that of the Brothers Grimm and the Heidelberg school in Germany, an absorbing interest in the literature of his country as the expression of a nation's soul. His efforts to obtain adequate appreciation of the treasures of Spanish national literature made him both controversialist and collector. He became the principal champion of that most Catholic and most Spanish poet, Calderón, against the advocates of the "well built" French drama, and the editor of two valuable anthologies, the *Floresta de rimas antiguas castellanas* and the *Teatro español anterior a Lope de Vega*.

Not a great deal of the material in the monograph is new. Most of the facts concerning Böhl's life are contained in Elise Campe's *Versuch einer Lebensskizze von Johan Nikolas Böhl von Faber* or Pitolle's *La querelle calderonienne de Johan Nikolas Böhl von Faber et José Joaquín de Mora*, but they are here assembled and for the first time presented as a well-organized whole. The argument treats of three principal themes: Böhl's spiritual development up to the year 1813 when he returned to Cadiz from Germany; the two warring camps of Spanish *literati* which he found upon his return; and his labors in behalf of the national literature of Spain on the side of the "serviles."

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Mireya Suárez, *La novela picaresca y el pícaro en la literatura española*, Madrid, Imprenta Latina, n. d., 240 pp.

Apparently this volume has grown out of a student's notes on a subject that attracted her special interest. That the author has done an extensive amount of

reading is evident from the numerous citations involved. Although her serious effort to make a comprehensive study is laudable, the result is extremely disappointing because of failure to utilize properly the material assembled. The professor who encouraged publication of the work, however, is mainly responsible since he should have given his pupil helpful direction in the methods of research. The text, which is a mass of random notes set down without order or coherence, and the inadequate data given in the bibliography are further impaired by an abundance of misprints.

ROBERT H. WILLIAMS

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INSTITUTO DE LAS ESPAÑAS

LECTURES AND MEETINGS. November 19: Meeting on Central American Problems. Professor William R. Shepherd presided, and the following addresses were made: "La expansión imperialista en Centro América, su historia" by D. Vicente Sáenz, and "Penetración económica de Estados Unidos en Centro América" by D. Manuel Urruela. December 6: Reception in honor of D. José Vasconcelos, who lectured in English on "Contemporary Mexican Problems." December 9: An evening of Spanish music by the *Instituto* chorus with the assistance of the distinguished artists, Juan Pulido, Spanish baritone; Srtas. Herrera, Mexican singers; Rondalla Usandizaga, guitarists; and Alberto de Lima, dancer. December 16: Term meeting of the Spanish Graduate Club. Miss Barbara Matulka read a paper on "La cárcel de amor," and Mr. Salvatore Mangiafico spoke on "Los restos de la civilización española en Sicilia." Professor Onís presided. January 12: Lecture, "Inter-American Relations" by Dr. Felipe Barreda. February 1: "Orientación política de América—Ideales de fraternidad americana" by D. José Coll Cuchi. February 24: Illustrated lecture, "Sunny Spain" by Mr. Howard B. MacDonald.

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ROMANCE LANGUAGE CLASS-TEXTS

Serafín y Joaquín Alvarez Quintero, *La Reja, Comedia en un Acto*. Authorized Edition, Edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by Caroline B. Bourland, New York, Benj. H. Sanborn & Co., 1927, xv + 67 + 29 pp.

It is Andalusian Spain that sparkles in this one-act comedy of the Quinteros—the Spain of gold and white bullfights, of castanets and dancing. It is the gay, frivolous, cruel, coquettish Spain of our cinema, that is nevertheless as profoundly Spanish as is the tragic sadness of the vast central plain or the somber seriousness of El Greco.

This early comedy, although not of the accomplished artistry of the later masterpieces of the Quinteros, already creates a strange fantastic world of its own, in which the *grate* plays the role of protagonist. It is strikingly reminiscent of *Les Romanesques* of Edmond Rostand, where the *Wall* is the center around which the whole drama revolves. Here it is the *reja* that becomes the all-powerful fascination—that attracts the lovers like puppets and makes them whisper their sighs of love as if bewitched by its powers. The *grate*, whether by moonlight or by lamplight, evokes the passion of the lover, the mercenary instinct of the flute player, the wrath of the absent-minded father, the coquetry of the lady. It plays upon all the strings of their many moods and sets the airy tone of the drama. Even what more serious elements

are introduced: the light touch of social satire, the quips at human nature—these remain subdued and melt into insignificance before the scene of the lovers at the grate.

However, although all these elements that make up the peculiar appeal of the Quinteros already appear in this early playlet, there are others which still betray the amateur. The comic elements are often too facile: the absent-minded father bent upon keeping all lovers away from his daughter, the playing of the flute as a warning, and the all too near-sighted lover who pours out his feelings in a soulful, well-prepared speech, finally to learn that his only auditor is the grate. And yet the comic element is ever bubbling, whether in a pun, in a situation, or in the inextricable imbroglio of the *finale*. Never once does the interest flag, for the humor, the quick succession of incidents, the swiftly unrolling plot, all make the play a pleasant text, as well as a good example of the works of the Quinteros. Moreover, it is written in their typically simple, colloquial style, which has the additional advantage of being not in dialect, but in Castilian.

Jules Romains, *Knock ou le Triomphe de la Médecine*. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary by A. D. Menut and D. I. Chapman, The Century Co., N. Y., 1927, xxiii + 109 pp.

Few authors have proclaimed as many theories as Jules Romains, and there are few "schools" as rigid and scientific in their principles as his *Unanimism*. Yet, theories have never created art. Great artists always transcend the doctrine they acclaim or the school to which they belong. Their individuality is too rebellious ever to become imprisoned in a formula. But it is the less gifted artist who is most frequently an imitator; he follows more docilely a school or a theory in art or literature. It is the mediocre artist who is by birthright a "follower," and by predestination a "disciple."

Jules Romains, as an artist, is not the slave of his sociological theories. In his best work he breaks through the self-constructed walls of his tenets, in order to write plays which are no more *unanimistic* than, let us say, those of Molière. *Knock ou le Triomphe de la Médecine* is a satire which the author of *Le Malade Imaginaire* would not have disowned. A charlatan succeeds in instilling in the minds of a whole district the notion that everyone is ill, in some way or other, and fills the hospital with hundreds of "Malades Imaginaires." He has coined a slogan of a grotesque impressiveness: "les gens bien portants sont des malades qui s'ignorent." A secret terror grips the entire population, and the doctor rolls in gold in the very village where his predecessor had barely eked out a meagre livelihood.

All of this has but little to do with Durkheim's *Social Psychology* or Bergson's *Creative Evolution*. As far as this play is concerned, it is a matter of indifference which opinions Jules Romains holds about the "many-headed" personality of the "collective soul" and its possibilities of *deification*. If anything, *Knock ou le Triomphe de la Médecine* shows that Romains is renouncing more and more his doctrine that "the social group embodies the divine vitality," and that "humanity is endeavoring to become one unified soul." Among other things, the War, with its ten million dead or maimed, has brought home to him how ignorant and maleficent the masses can be, how easily they are led by schemers, humbugs, or decorative politicians. He seems to have evolved from a worship of the masses to the anatomy of the mob.

Since Jules Romains is a born playwright even more than an unmasker of demagogues, this play proves very interesting reading. It has been well edited,

although one may take exception here and there to a statement as, for instance (p. xix), that Verhaeren's work "is suggested by many of Romans' poems." The opposite is true: Verhaeren, among others, discovered the poetic possibilities of the "collective soul" before Jules Romans. Once more one can note that American text-book publishers are more modern in their selection than their French colleagues. This significant social farce by one of the most analytic of modern playwrights will help to acquaint American students better with the French stage of to-day.

A. Marinoni, *España* [With Vocabulary and Questions based on the Text], New York, Macmillan Co., 1926, 126 + 53 pp.

The author is aware that it was an ambitious attempt to give even a bird's-eye view of Spanish history, commerce and civilization in both hemispheres within 126 pages. Yet allowing for the difficulty of reducing the unwieldy mass of information on the subject to a few clear chapters, he has succeeded well in projecting before our eyes a succession of quick views outlining Spanish literature, music and art, and the influence of its civilization on Latin America. As a background for this survey of the cultural achievements of the Spanish mind, he lists the main data pertaining to its history and economics, as well as an outline of the political and administrative organization. His short and varied chapters constitute an introduction to a general course on Spanish civilization. As such, it brings an eminently fitting reply to the question set up by the beginning student: What does Spain mean to me? Is it another dilettante diversion or useless dabbling with grammatical rule and burdensome vocabulary, memorized only to be forgotten as soon as the college door closes? Is it the mere class subject in the worst sense, or is it the key to the treasure house of one of the most fascinating civilizations the world has ever known? This volume proves again the intellectual stimulus that may be derived from the study of Spanish, since it discloses Spanish life and art both in their dramatic past and their intensely living present.

Florencio Sánchez, *La Gringa, Drama en Cuatro Actos*. Edited with Introduction, Exercises, Notes and Vocabulary by J. T. Lister and R. Richardson, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1927, xvii + 69 + 73 pp.

This is one of the pioneering attempts at introducing the *teatro criollo* to the American classroom. It comes as an appropriate tribute to continue the work of Camila Quiroga and her troupe, who staged so successfully in New York some of the representative South American dramas. Its choice of Florencio Sánchez as a text is fortunate, for that vagrant bohemian, schooled in the slums of Montevideo and the huts of the peasants of the Argentine, goes on gaining recognition.

La Gringa, one of his best works, presents the life of the Argentine humble folk he knew so well—the lowly and simple drama of their traditional loves and hatreds, their terrible fight, not only for bread, but for the soil of their fathers. All of these elemental passions join together until they loom, in the person of old Don Cantalicio, as the forces of Tradition fighting the onslaught of Progress. This pathetic old man clings to his last foot of land, unable to see the value of threshing machines, weeping to see a new-fangled mansion replace the old hut where his family had been sheltered for generations, and exultant that the old *ombú*, the tree that symbolizes all he holds dear, does not yield to the axe of the newcomers. He longs to save the fleeting memories of his youth, and to uphold his right as the first comer, the haughty native *criollo*, as against the more practical Italian immigrant usurper, the *gringo*. All of this sentimentality that would be mowed down by the first argument of reason

survives in him, since it is the last weapon of a wounded pride. And there lies his tragedy—for although he persists in holding on to the old tradition, it is with but trembling hands that he strives to hold back the advancing avalanche of progress.

Although simple enough and lucidly explained, the text may not seem, at first sight, suitable for the first years of Spanish, since it is written almost entirely in dialect. However, this is not in itself an obstacle, for the play brings to the student a living language, and one as actually spoken by the many. With but little effort, the barrier of dialect is passed, and the student has in his hands an interesting document of the actual evolution of a language. This edition with its sober though vivid appreciation of Sánchez, and its almost too full notes, will be welcomed by those who wish to venture into the unexplored literature of South America.

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La France laborieuse, edited by F. A. Roe. Thomas Nelson and Sons, London . . . New York, 1927, 176 pp.

The antiquated conception of France as merely the Mecca of pleasure-seekers is fast disappearing. All that used to be said formerly by way of definition was: "The French are a gay people, fond of dancing and light wine," and students visualized a vaudeville Frenchman with spats and a top-hat, bent upon inventing subtle distinctions in syntax, and given to such vices as perfumes and symbolist poetry. More than ever our attention has been concentrated upon the national and economic struggle of France, upon a *France laborieuse* in a workaday world. Formerly it was the fashion to be quite apologetic about the existence of this more prosaic and substantial France of the workers, the shopkeepers and the industrialists, where the real "mal du siècle" is the ever-fluctuating exchange, where the dollar-sign is the most inspiring of poetic symbols. The mandarins who presided over the school-programs excluded it because it was so "uncultural" and "unpoetic." But now the clanging of the sledge-hammers in the workshops and the whistles of the factories begin to reverberate, not only in poetry and novels since Maxime Du Camp and Zola—but even in the language classes. A booklet like Roe's *France laborieuse* will help a good deal to install a sound conception of France into the student's mind. It depicts, in well-arranged and graded chapters, the immense commercial and industrial effort which is now replacing the comparative inertia of more complacent decades, and which is comparable and superior to the great industrial expansion under the Second Empire. This phenomenon, which some have deplored as the "Americanization" of France, is a parallel to the industrialization of modern Italy and Germany's thoroughness in its post-war recovery. It is a thousand times more fundamental than a library of windy declamations of sentimentalists who are always settling France's plight with an overdose of eloquence.

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VARIA

Professor J. D. M. Ford of Harvard University was recently promoted from Chevalier to Officier de la Légion d'Honneur. This distinguished scholar has been the recipient of unusual honors from the Latin countries during the past few years, notably from Spain, Comendador con placa de la Ordén de Isabel la Católica, and from Italy, Cavaliere della Corona d'Italia. Furthermore, in 1926 he was chosen

by the University of Porto Rico as one of the Consejeros of its Department of Spanish Studies. We take pleasure in extending to him congratulations on this well-merited recognition of the invaluable services he has rendered in America to the study and teaching of the Romance languages and literatures.

Professor E. C. Hills, of the University of California, has recently distributed two interesting circular letters containing summaries of data he has collected on "Foreign Language Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in American Universities," and "Should Beginners' Courses in French, German, Italian and Spanish be Given in College?" With regard to the former, which should interest especially the readers of the ROMANIC REVIEW, he finds that a knowledge of two modern foreign languages is required of all candidates for the degree in twenty-five of the twenty-six of the universities reporting, the exception being the University of Indiana. While Professor Hills is of the opinion that all candidates in French should be required to have a reading knowledge of Latin and German, he unfortunately makes no recommendation with regard to candidates in Italian and Spanish. However, it would seem advisable that a candidate in any one of the Romance languages should have a reading knowledge of French, Italian and Spanish in addition to Latin and German. This requirement of a reading knowledge of five modern languages—a knowledge of English being, of course, presupposed—is successfully upheld by several of our universities.

Announcement was made from Columbia University on January 23 that some weeks before his death King Ferdinand of Rumania conferred on President Nicholas Murray Butler the Grand Cross of the Order of the Crown of Rumania. Dr. Butler has now received the highest decorations given to foreigners by nine governments, including France and Italy.

The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation announced on March 19 the award of 75 fellowships of an aggregate value of \$173,000. Among those relating to the Romance field are the following: Dr. E. M. Carroll, Asst. Prof. of History, Duke Univ., to complete a study of the influence of public opinion upon the foreign policy of the Third French Republic; Dr. L. R. Gottschalk, Assoc. Prof. of History, Univ. of Chicago, to study the career and influence of General Lafayette; Dr. A. Hyma, Asst. Prof. of History, Univ. of Michigan, to prepare a book on the *Youth of Erasmus*; Dr. C. E. Kany, Asst. Prof. of Spanish, Univ. of California, to prepare a book entitled, *Life in Madrid during the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*; Dr. R. P. Robinson, Prof. of the Classics, Univ. of Cincinnati, to obtain new material to complete the *Palaeographia Iberica*, begun by the late Prof. John Miller Burnam; Dr. A. G. Solalinde, Assoc. Prof. of Spanish, Univ. of Wisconsin, to examine and classify the manuscripts corresponding to parts II-VI of the *Universal History*, written in Spanish during the eighteenth century by order of Alfonso X; M. B. Smith, to continue his studies of Italian brick-work of the Lombard period; Dr. K. J. Conant, Asst. Prof. of Architecture, Harvard Univ., to complete his restoration drawings of the Abbey Church of Cluny in France; Dr. Edith Philips, Asst. Prof. of French, Goucher College, to study the development of the Quaker as a type in French literature; etc.

The year 1928 bids fair to be remembered as a year of anniversaries, for France will celebrate this year the centenaries of the birth of Jules Verne, novelist; Edmond About, novelist and dramatist; Robert Cambert, composer; J. A. Baudry, painter; and Hippolyte Taine, critic and historian. In Italy and Belgium the names to be remembered are Tommaso Salvini, actor, and Alfred Stevens, painter. The year also

marks the two hundredth anniversary of Nicola Piccinni, Italian composer; the three hundredth anniversary of Carlo Cignani, Italian painter; and the four hundredth anniversaries of Fray Luis de León, Spanish poet; Paul Veronese and Federigo Barocci, Italian painters; and Antonio Ferreira, Portuguese poet.

In an address delivered on January 19 at the annual dinner of the International Association of Antiquarian Booksellers held at London, Professor Karl Young of Yale University announced that a committee of the American Council of Learned Societies has been working on an arrangement for making at least an inventory, if not a catalogue, of all foreign manuscripts now in the United States.

Stanford University of California announces that in the coming Summer Quarter (June 21–Sept. 1) the following courses will be given by Professor F. Baldensperger of the University of Paris, co-editor of the *Revue de Littérature comparée*: "A165, La littérature française d'après guerre"; "A210, Du Romantisme au Réalisme par Balzac"; and "E205, Problems and Methods of Comparative Literature."

The 1928 session of the Paris Summer School of New York University will be held from June 28 to August 9, according to an announcement from General Charles H. Sherrill, Director of the Department of Fine Arts, under whose auspices the school is conducted. This session, which is devoted to the study of French art, offers the following courses by distinguished French professors: "France, Geographical and Historical," Professors Hauser and de Martonne; "Les Primitifs," Professor Salomon Reinach; "French Architecture, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," Professor Gromort; "French Painting and Sculpture" in the same period, Professor Réau; "French Painting and Sculpture, Nineteenth Century," Professor Georges Grappe; and two courses on "French Decorative Art of Today" and "Interior Decoration, Historical Examples in Paris," Professor C. Chassé. The Louvre Collections will be explained by the Conservators of the various Departments of the Museum. Included in the session will be six week-end lecture trips to celebrated cathedrals and châteaux in France.

Following the example of the Universities of Michigan, Wisconsin, Chicago, and Middlebury and Penn State Colleges, the New Jersey College for Women at New Brunswick, N. J., will have next year a French House in which the students will hear nothing but French spoken. This House will be in charge of Mme. Alice Williamson de Visme, Associate Professor and head of the French Department who, with her late husband Professor Henri Pierre de Visme, inaugurated the French Houses at Middlebury and Penn State Colleges.

French bibliophiles have been writing to the Paris newspapers expressing astonishment at the low prices that famous French manuscripts bring at Paris sales, when the prices in London are so much higher. Among the examples cited were the prices brought at the Hôtel Drouot on February 21, for the following manuscripts: Anatole France's *abeille*, less than \$1,000; Huysmans' *À Rebours* (on which a study appeared in the ROMANIC REVIEW, XVIII, 1927, pp. 306–328), \$2,600; Maupassant's *Une Répétition*, \$450; Zola's *Docteur Pascal*, less than \$1,075, etc. The higher prices in England may be due to the method adopted by London booksellers of "forcing up" American bidders as stated by the head of the firm of Quaritch (cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XVIII, 1927, p. 391). On the other hand, there is the grave danger that the unfair system in vogue in England may result in destroying the market for such manuscripts in America.

Gabriel Wells of New York announced on January 18 that he had purchased in England the original holograph manuscript of Zola's *Le Docteur Pascal*, mentioned

above. This is the last manuscript of the great author that will ever leave France, for Zola's widow gave all except two of his manuscripts—the other being the holograph of *Nana* now in the Morgan Library—to the Bibliothèque Nationale. The above manuscript is written on 231 quarto pages and is the original of the complete and detailed first draft of the novel published in 1893.

Following the general plan formulated recently in France that all learned reviews dealing with Romance languages and literatures should strive to avoid any overlapping of interests—each review being devoted solely to some special field—the *Revue de philologie* "se propose d'étudier tout particulièrement le français moderne dans ses différentes manifestations depuis l'année 1500." This announcement of editorial policy states further that the *Revue* "fait appel à tous ceux qu'intéresse, comme lecteurs ou comme travailleurs, l'étude de la langue française, envisagée dans toutes ses formes et sous tous ses aspects: vocabulaire, sons, morphologie, syntaxe, style, recherches artistiques des écrivains. Elle se limite au français commun, laissant à d'autres périodiques l'étude du provençal littéraire et de tous les parlers locaux du Nord comme du Midi." Communications should be addressed to the editors M. Clédat, 29 rue Molière, Lyons, or to M. Henri Yvon, 11 rue Gay-Lussac, Paris.

The authorities of the Pantheon in Paris have instituted a search for the body of René Descartes, supposed to be interred in the Church of St. Germain des Prés. It is known that he was first buried in Stockholm, Sweden, where he died on February 11, 1650, as a consequence of pneumonia contracted on his early morning drives to the court of the brilliant young Queen Christina for her 5 o'clock lesson in philosophy. Later his body was brought to France, where it was interred in the Church of Ste. Geneviève but, during the Revolution, it was taken to the Louvre, whence later it was presumably transferred to St. Germain des Prés.

Dr. Homer Gage, Chairman of the American Committee of the Cité Universitaire, announced on February 2 that contributions toward the construction of a dormitory for American students in Paris totaled about \$250,000 of the American quota of \$400,000. On March 9, the Committee, whose headquarters are at 50 East 42d Street, New York, gave a dinner at the Hotel Ambassador in honor of Senator André Honnorat, former Minister of Education, who is Chairman of the French Cité Universitaire Committee and who has recently completed a tour of American universities.

M. Roland-Marcel, Conservateur of the Bibliothèque Nationale, who is now on a visit to the United States, urges in a recent report that more space and better methods of filing and supplying books to readers be provided at an early date for the world's greatest Library. According to his enumeration, the Bibliothèque Nationale now contains 4,280,000 volumes, 40,403 files of newspapers and magazines, 203,018 maps, 3,045,083 engravings and 123,325 manuscripts, besides many medals, coins and other works of art. By 1943, he says, there will be no space left. He urges, therefore, that, in erecting the proposed military hospital at Versailles, the Government utilize the Grand Commun near the Château as an annex for Parisian libraries. The Bibliothèque Nationale would place there all manuscripts of books required by law to be deposited in its charge for copyright purposes, as well as duplicates of many works. Furthermore he advocates the creation of more popular libraries, which he believes to be too rare in France, and the training of librarians, as in the United States, for advising readers in the choice of books. Dr. C. C. Williamson, Director of the Libraries of Columbia University, and Professor I. Mudge of the same insti-

tution, are seeking funds in the United States so as to enable M. Marcel to bring to early completion the great *Catalogue* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, of which the first volume appeared in 1897 and volume 90 (going as far as *Lebasque*) was issued last year.

According to the *New York Times*, the Paris Municipal Council unanimously adopted on January 22 a proposal to create ten pensions of 10,000 francs each a year for aged savants, artists and writers living in Paris and who have exercised their arts there.

In England at a recent teachers' meeting to protest against the "anti-working-class propaganda in British schoolbooks," France was referred to as the only country that had placed in use history textbooks that were without bias.

The *Courrier des États-Unis*, published in New York, celebrated its centenary on March 1. The *Courrier* began as a weekly on March 1, 1828, but within a year was publishing twice weekly, and ten years after its foundation it began issuing three editions a week. In 1851, it entered the field of daily journalism. Though it has had several competitors—one continuing publication for thirty-one years—it has survived them all and is now the only French language newspaper in New York. It is owned by the H. P. Sampers Co. and is edited by Firmin Guégo. Commenting editorially on the centenary, the *New York Times* stated that the *Courrier* promoted international friendship "on the principle that *tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner*."

An Exposition of Modern French Decorative Art was held at Lord and Taylor's Department Store in New York from February 29 to March 17. The purpose of the Exposition, consisting of eleven ensembles or room sets, was to determine the reaction of the American public toward modern art in all its developments.

The prize sonnet of the annual students' competition of Barnard College was read at the assembly of the College on February 21. The poem, entitled "François de Montcorbier, 1463," was written by Miss Virginia Snow of the class of 1929.

In an address delivered before the French Academy of Inscriptions in Paris on February 17, Paul Pelliot, of the Collège de France, who was Visiting Professor of Chinese at Columbia University in 1926, held that xylographic printing, generally believed to have been discovered in Germany in the fifteenth century, had existed in China from as early as 700 A.D. According to the French savant, this method owed its origin to the use of seals rather than to development from prints. Classical texts were produced in printed form in China in 932 A.D., but various printed manuscripts, chiefly magic Buddhist formulas, were printed as early as 764 A.D. He then traced the spread of the use of printing from China into the Eastern Mediterranean regions and later to Morocco, whence it was taken by the Moors into Spain. He further claimed that knowledge of printing was introduced into Southern France in the year 1189 A.D. The first paper was made in China in the year 105 A.D., while the discovery of ink goes back as far as 500 A.D.

Professor Albert Carnoy, the well-known philologist, who was Visiting Professor in several American universities—Pennsylvania, California, Columbia, etc.—during the years immediately following the war, became last December Minister of the Interior in the Belgian Coalition Cabinet headed by M. Jaspar, and formed of Catholics and Liberals, after the resignation of the Socialists in protest against army service for recruits.

The new Louvain University Library, for which more than \$1,000,000 was raised in the United States, will be dedicated on July 4. The American Engineering Foundation will place a clock and carillon in the tower of the building as a memorial

to engineers who lost their lives in the World War. According to Dr. Edward Dean Adams of the Foundation, there will be forty-eight stars in the four dials of the clock and forty-eight bells in the carillon, symbolic of the States of the Union. Whitney Warren, the American architect, has been in charge of the construction of the Library, for which the entire cost has been paid by contributions from the United States. According to the *New York Times* of January 26, the new library will contain about 350,000 volumes, most of which come from German libraries at Heidelberg, Leipzig and Bonn. About 25,000 volumes have been donated by American libraries.

Giovanni Grasso, the well-known Sicilian tragedian, returned to New York on Jan. 25 after an absence of seven years. The first play presented by his Italian company at Acierno's Grand Street Theatre was *Il Tesoro d'Isacco*, a tragedy in Sicilian in three acts by Amleto Palmeri. The superb acting of the tragedian was enthusiastically praised by all critics. In comparing Grasso's art with that of Angelo Musco, the Sicilian comedian who visited New York during the autumn of 1927, Walter Littlefield wrote in the *New York Times*: "While Musco may be said to illustrate all that is most modern and best approved in the ensemble school, Grasso, on the contrary . . . appears the embodiment of the individualistic."

During February and March the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York exhibited a collection of sixty-seven paintings—all but one of which were loans—by the old masters of Spain. Except for a small showing of old Spanish paintings in Boston some twenty-five years ago, this was said to be the first representative exhibition of its kind in the United States. The artists represented included: Murillo and Velázquez, 7 paintings each; El Greco, 13; Goya, 22; and various minor artists, such as Herrera, first teacher of Velázquez; Luis Tristan, El Greco's only pupil of note; Legote, Cano, Collantes, Pantoja de la Cruz, etc. Goya, the centenary of whose death falls this year, is likewise represented by more of his works than any other master in the Prado Gallery at Madrid. In rearranging the paintings of that celebrated gallery, authorities find that it contains the following: 42 Goyas, 33 Rubens, 29 Velázquez, 26 Grecos, 21 Tintorettos, 16 Titians, 10 Van Dycks and 10 Veroneses. The Goya House in Moncloa Park, Madrid, was dedicated in March. All the furniture for the House was donated by the King, the Spanish aristocracy, or by the Government from national museums so as to give, says a cable in the *New York Times*, an exact reproduction of the Spanish house as Goya knew it at the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Besides this memorial house, Goya will also have in Madrid a mausoleum in Moncloa Church, which itself is adorned with magnificent frescoes which the famous painter restored and installed there. His body, now in France, will be taken there soon for final burial and the church will be closed for ordinary worship.

The many friends and admirers of Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal will be glad to learn that a recent operation has restored to him his menaced vision. He has been able to resume his fruitful labors, which he had been forced to abandon since May 1927.

To commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Palacio Valdés' first novel, *El señorito Octavio*, there has been organized an *Año jubilar de Palacio Valdés*, to last from January 15, 1928, to January 15, 1929. There will be held, in Spain and Spanish American countries, a ceremony in honor of the novelist every month during that year, but the principal week will be that of January 8 to 15, 1929, which will be called "Palacio Valdés Week." A subscription will be taken up to defray the expenses of publishing a special edition of the first novel of Palacio Valdés,

of building a statue in his honor, and of organizing a library of his works. He will be suggested as a candidate for the Nobel Prize.

In an address before the Spanish Academy on March 6 in memory of Cánovas del Castillo, Premier Primo de Rivera declared that if the great statesman had not been assassinated "Spain would never have suffered the shame of pursuing so unequal a struggle as the war with the United States." The Premier implied in his address that the death of Cánovas left Spain in such a deplorable state of internal politics that policies were badly mismanaged. This opinion, it is interesting to note, conforms with what was generally held in the United States at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, for the great statesmanship of Cánovas commanded the admiration of all the leading American thinkers of the time. It is not generally known that the great statesman was also an able literary critic and historian, as is shown by his volumes entitled *Biografía de Calderón* (2 vols., 1883); *Le Théâtre espagnol contemporain*, translated by J. G. Magnabal (Paris, 1886), etc.

Maria Guerrero, the great tragedy actress who was to Spain what Bernhardt and Duse were to France and Italy, died in Madrid on January 23. She established her reputation in the plays of Lope de Vega, Calderón, Tirso de Molina and Moreto, and is closely identified with the history of the drama during her lifetime. So great was the success that her company had in Buenos Aires that she built her own theatre there, which is considered one of the most beautiful in South America. In May, 1926, she played in New York in Marquina's *Doña María la Brava*, and her extraordinary art was the subject of much criticism, both laudatory and unfavorable, on the part of dramatic critics and writers.

The death of Vicente Blasco Ibáñez on January 28 aroused so much attention in the American press, because of his political activities in later life, that unfortunately too little consideration was given to his early works, through which, doubtless, he will remain an important figure in Spanish literature. In a letter in the *New York Times* of February 12, Professor Francisco Piñol of New London, Conn., gives a fair estimate of the writer's political activities, concluding with the hope that some day his body will rest in Spain.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace announced on January 23 that Dr. David P. Barrows, former President of the University of California, had been appointed Visiting Carnegie Professor of International Relations to the principal universities of South America for the year 1928. Dr. Barrows will lecture in sixteen educational institutions in ten different countries of South America.

Commenting on the plan of the International Council of Educational Progress by which one hundred Mexican school teachers visited the universities and colleges of California for a period of four weeks last March and April, the *New York Times*, of March 2, said editorially that such concentration upon the higher institutions of learning in a single state could not help being more profitable than long and fatiguing journeys over a large part of the United States. After stating that the value of an international exchange of this kind cannot fail to be great, the editorial writer commends it as "an example which ought to be followed and even enlarged."

According to an announcement made by Luis Dobles Segreda, Minister of Public Instruction in Costa Rica, who visited New York in January, his country is spending more money for educational purposes than for any other item of its budget. As a consequence there are a greater number of employees connected with the system of education than with any other branch of the Government. English and French are the leading foreign languages learned by the Costa Rican students, the former being a compulsory subject in the grammar schools.

The *New York World* and other newspapers of February 2 contained quotations from Kent Cooper's article in the *Review of Reviews* deplored the failure of our diplomats going to South America to learn Spanish. "We send more diplomats to Latin America who cannot speak Spanish than Latin America sends us who cannot speak English" is the passage to which particular attention was called.

Among the teachers of Romance languages in the United States who died during the past winter—excluding those of whom obituaries have already been published—are the following: Émile Villemain, Vice President of the Alliance Française of New York and President of the Cercle des Annales, who passed away on November 28, 1927, at the age of 68; Major Charles L. Byrne, Professor at the United States Military Academy at West Point, N. Y., on Dec. 13; Donald Ober, Instructor in French at New York University and former Lieutenant in the A. E. F., Dec. 27; Professor Charles F. Kroeh, last survivor of the original Faculty members of Stevens Institute, Hoboken, N. J., on Feb. 3, 1928, at the age of 81; and John Squair, Professor Emeritus at the University of Toronto, on Feb. 15, at the age of 78. Professor Squair was head of the Department at Toronto from early in the '90s until his retirement in 1916. In 1924 he was made Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur in recognition of his work in teaching French.

The only known copy of a novel attributed to Charles Sorel was recently offered for sale by a Parisian bookseller: *Les Avantures satyriques de Florinde, habitant de la basse région de la Lune*, (s. l.) 1625, in-8, 212 pp. This interesting volume, which has not been studied by E. Roy in his thesis on Sorel, belonged successively to Viollet-le-Duc and P. Louys. It shows analogies with the *Francion*.

The original manuscript of Gauguin's *Noah-Noah* was recently presented to the Bibliothèque Nationale. It has been profusely illustrated by the author-painter with sketches and drawings, which had remained hitherto unknown and which increase the value of this remarkable document on modern primitivism.

A new title just added to the series *Le Roman des Grandes Existences* is Louis Dumont-Wilden's *La Vie de Charles-Joseph de Ligne, Prince de l'Europe Française*. This eighteenth century Prince de Ligne, a friend of Rousseau, built an extensive English garden in his domain and wrote a number of interesting volumes which are now being reprinted. He is the direct ancestor of the present Belgian ambassador to the United States.

In Belgium the centenary was celebrated of Charles de Coster, the author of *La Légende d'Ulenspiegel*, the literary bible of Belgium. This satirical novel, indeed, aroused last year a storm of heated discussion as to its sources until it was pointed out by some cooler mind that Charles de Coster had himself stated in the preface to the book what his sources were. In addition to these rather amusing discussions there has appeared a posthumous play of Charles de Coster, *Stéphanie*, edited by Camille Huysmans, Minister of Arts and Sciences. Maurice Gauchez devoted a special number of his review *La Renaissance d'Occident* to the centenary of de Coster, recommending the use of some of the finest pages of *Ulenspiegel* in the schools. Henri Liebrecht has published *La Vie et le Rêve de Charles de Coster* in which he relates the unhappy life and the moral suffering of his hero who found only bitterness and deception in life. *Vlaamsche Arbeid* published in its December 1927 issue an important bibliography of Charles de Coster, which will interest all students of Belgian literature.

In 1930, it is announced, the centenary of Guido Gezelle, the greatest of modern Flemish poets, will be commemorated. Translations of some of his verse into the

principal languages of the world will be issued. The first study in English on this poet was published by G. L. van Roosbroeck, *Guido Gezelle, the Mystic Poet of Flanders, 1919.*

The year 1928 marks the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Voltaire's death. On this occasion the *Publications* of the *Institut des Études Françaises* is going to issue on June 1, 1928, a bibliography of writings about Voltaire from 1825-1927 by Miss Mary-Margaret Barr. This exhaustive bibliography of studies on the great French author, which appeared in several languages during one century, will contain about eighteen hundred titles, classified by subject, and will render great services to the Voltaire scholarship.

G. L. van Roosbroeck's articles in the *Romanic Review*, *Are the Modern Poets Decadent* and *Decadence and Rimbaud's Sonnet of the Vowels*, were translated into Flemish by André de Ridder and appeared in the *Vlaamsche Gids* and the *Vlaamsche Arbeid*. A French translation of his *Legend of the Decadents* will soon appear.

On April 14, Dr. Henri M. Barzun delivered, at Columbia University, a lecture under the auspices of the group of Associate Members of the *Institut des Études Françaises*. He discussed the two artistic groups which sprang from the *Abbaye*: the Unanimists such as G. Duhamel, Jules Romains, Jouvet, etc., and the so-called Simultaneanists of which Fernand Divoire and Dr. Barzun himself are the outstanding representatives. Dr. Barzun illustrated his lecture with a number of poems written in the technique he expounds.

May 27, 1927, marked the three hundredth anniversary of the death of Góngora. During this year, numerous articles and studies have appeared on his work and influence. He is acclaimed by the younger Spanish authors with the same fervor as that with which the modernist painters now venerate El Greco. The *juventud* seems to feel a spiritual kinship with the "baroque," which for three centuries has been decried as the most incongruous of decadent styles. From a "symbol of a debauched art and a dying literature," he is again becoming the "swan of Córdoba" and the "Homer of Spain." Paul Souday, among others, has devoted to him a study stressing the relations between his aesthetics and those of Mallarmé and Paul Valéry. Rémy de Gourmont had perceived this kinship and this influence long ago, and discussed it in his *Promenades Littéraires*.

A new Belgian review, *Variétés*, under the editorship of P.-G. Van Hecke, has just been issued. It intends to be a *Revue de l'Esprit Contemporain*, dealing with all aspects of modern thought, poetry, art, and present-day activities.

Prince Spada Potenziana, Governor of Rome, was the guest of the *Institute of Italian Culture* at the *Casa Italiana* on Saturday, May 12.

